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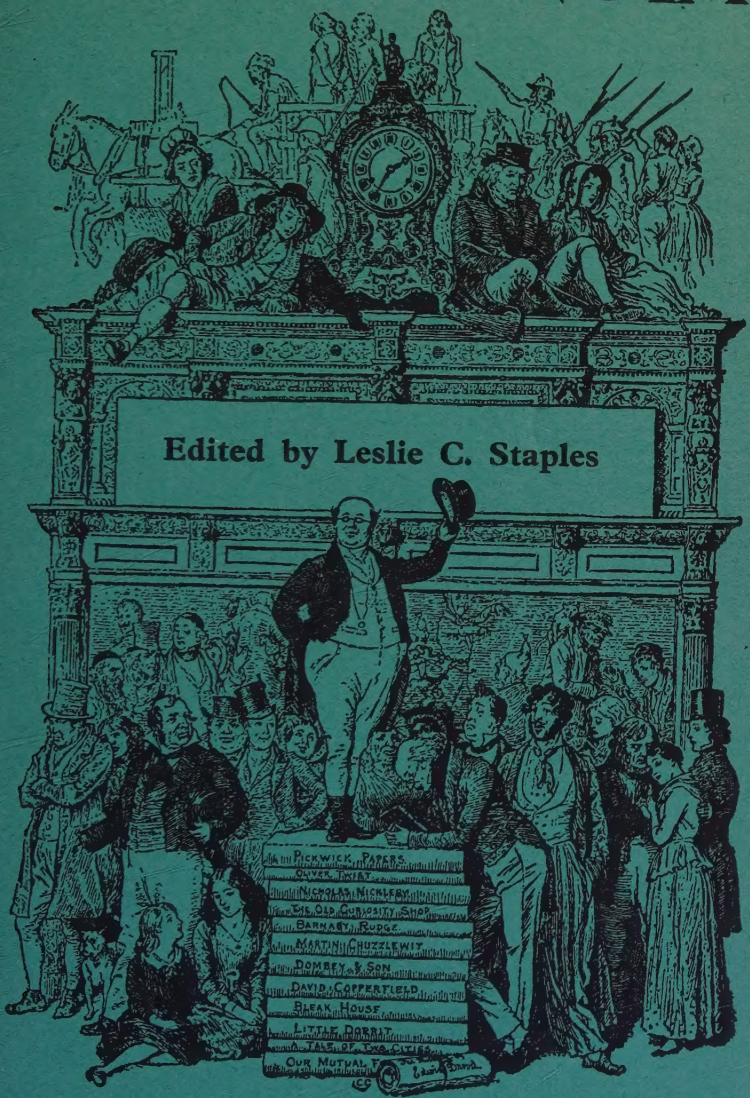
THE DICKENSIAN



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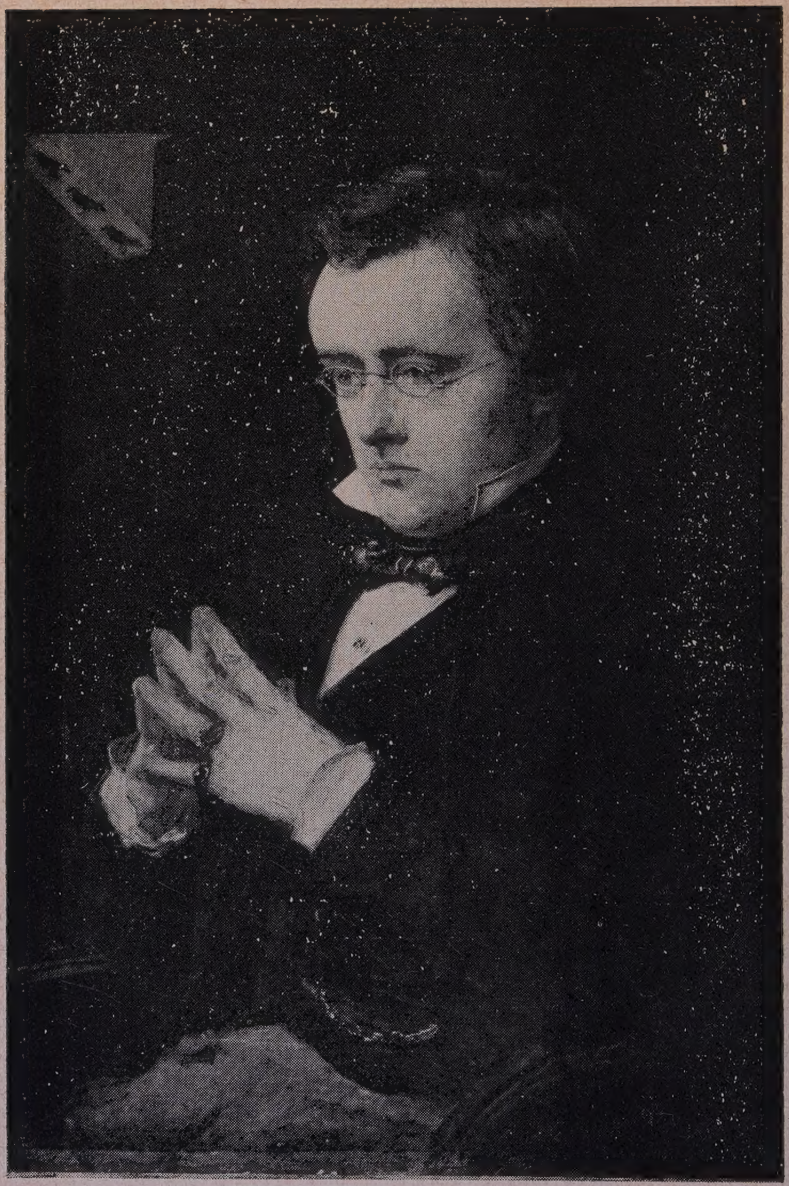


Wilkie Collins
in 1850
by Sir J. E. Millais, P.R.A.

See page 54

By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

THE DICKENSIAN

SPRING NUMBER

VOL. XLVIII. MARCH 1952 No. 302

WHEN FOUND—

An Inscription Columbia University has recently received the bequest of a first edition of *A Christmas Carol* in which the author wrote the following delightful inscription:

> I wish I had given this book to Frank Powell: but I didn't, and couldn't. How could I, you know Frank, when I was not acquainted with you? Don't you see. If you had come to my house, and had knocked at my door, and had said to my servant: "Is Mr. Dickens at home?" my servant would have said: "What name Sir?" Then you would have said: "Powell." Then he would have said: "Powell of Peckham Sir?" Then you would have said: "The same." Then he would have said "Walk in Sir." When you came in I should have shown you an eagle (a real eagle you know no nonsense or make believe), a raven, and a very small white dog: curling all over: and barking, as the vulgar expression is, like Bricks. And when you asked me to write my name in this book, I should have taken up a pen and done it so—Charles Dickens.
>
> [Then after a characteristic flourish]:
>
> But dont you flourish when you grow up, because it is a bad habit, and dont leave room for the day of the month which is the Thirteenth of March, 1844.

The fortunate Master Frank Powell has not yet been identified.

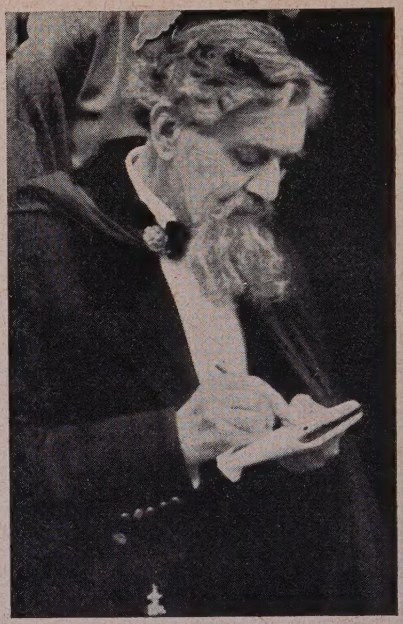
* * * * *

L.E.L. The life of Letitia Elizabeth Landon by Helen Ashton, recently published (*Letty Landon*, Collins, 10*s.* 6*d.*) is a biographical novel, tracing with sympathy and understanding the career of this practically forgotten and very minor poetess to her early tragic and mysterious death. It is interesting to Dickensians chiefly because "L.E.L." knew, while Dickens was still unknown as an author, many people with whom he afterwards became familiar, such as Forster, Jerdan, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, Bulwer Lytton, Mr. and Mrs. Howitt, Lady Blessington, and the Hon. Mrs. Norton. Miss Ashton is thoroughly at home in the period and writes as if she were a contemporary in the literary life of London in the early nineteenth century.

* * * * *

Dickens and the Stage An exhibition organised by the Society of Theatrical Research at Leighton House, Kensington, in December and January, had an admirable section devoted to Dickens on the stage.

Bransby Williams We are confident that readers will be glad to have this photograph of Mr. Bransby Williams as he appeared when impersonating the novelist at the Dickens Dinner at the South Bank Exhibition of the Festival of Britain last July, as reported in our December Number. Mr. Williams, in the course of his theatrical career, extending over more than fifty years, has often included Dickens himself in the characters he has impersonated, but never more happily than on this occasion.



* * * *

A broadcast *Edwin Drood* An admirable adaptation of *Edwin Drood* was broadcast by the B.B.C. on December 10th. The cast, headed by Michael Hordern as Jasper, was a fine one, and listeners were rewarded by a splendid hour and a half. The additional fifteen minutes of the broadcast was, however altogether too short for Miss Mollie Greenhalgh to gather up the many loose threads and to tie them neatly.

* * * * *

Monica Dickens Congratulations to Miss Monica Dickens on her marriage to Comdr. Roy Stratton, U.S.N., at Princeton, New Jersey, on December 7th. Miss Dickens will continue to practice the profession of her great-grandfather, under the name that has already brought her such widespread popularity.

* * * * *

Scrooge on his toes In 1935 *A Christmas Carol* was arranged by Vaughan Williams and Adolph Bolm as a Folk-Dance ballet in which Folk-Dance tunes were employed. This Christmas has seen it adapted to the purposes of *ballet russe* at the Empire Theatre, London. The music is by W. Hill-Bowen, and the choreography by Alan Carter, who also dances the rôle of Scrooge.

* * * * *

A Presentation Pickwick A presentation copy of the first edition of *Pickwick* appeared at Sotheby's on October 17th. It was inscribed to his life-long friend : " Thomas Mitton, Esqre from his faithful friend Charles Dickens."

Astley's A memorial tablet was unveiled in September on the site of Astley's Amphitheatre at 225 Westminster Bridge Road. It provides yet another reminder of Dickens in the streets of London and will recall to the passing Dickensian the delightful description in *The Old Curiosity Shop* of the sort of circus performances which used to be given there.

* * * * *

Oxford University Press The excellent New Oxford University Press edition of Dickens now includes nine novels, the latest additions being *The Old Curiosity Shop*, with an Introduction by the Earl of Wicklow, and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, the Introduction to which is by Mr. Geoffrey Russell. Once again we cordially recommend this handsome edition to our readers: the type, binding, and excellence of the reproduction of the original illustrations being worthy of every praise. The introductions to the two newest volumes are as stimulating as their forerunners. Two other volumes from this Press have interest for Dickensians. First comes *An Autobiography*, by Anthony Trollope, (uniform with the Oxford Illustrated Trollope, 15*s*.) with a number of references to Dickens whom Trollope did not like any more than he liked his works, the universal popularity of which he grudgingly admitted. When trying his hand at prophecy he is no more successful than most modern prophets, for he predicted that in the days of his grandchildren *Pickwick* would be forgotten. The second, uniform with the first, is a beautifully printed volume of Trollope's Letters, edited by Mr. Bradford A. Booth (30*s*.). Among the subjects touched upon, which interest us in this place, are the books about Dickens's Readings written by Kate Field, the Farewell Dinner to Dickens in 1867, the Household Edition of Dickens's Works, and Forster's *Life of Dickens*. The reference to the latter reveals Trollope's dislike of Forster as well as of Dickens.

* * * * *

The Fund The Dickens House Endowment Fund (Walter Dexter Memorial) has recently received two large sums. The late William A. Clark, always a generous benefactor of the Dickens House, bequeathed to it the sum of £100. Another enthusiastic member whose cheery presence will not be easily replaced, Mr. Harold Currie of Newcastle, died a few months ago and his brother Mr. Colin D. Currie has most generously presented to the Dickens House the sum of £500 in his memory.

* * * * *

The Fellowship's Jubilee By the time this Number reaches you, the Programme of the Dickens Fellowship's Jubilee celebrations and the Annual Conference, which will be celebrated together in September, will have been published. In spite of the difficulties of the times, it is determined that this great landmark in our history shall be worthily celebrated, and if you can attend, ask your Branch Secretary for details as soon as possible, or write to the Dickens House for a copy.

LESLIE C. STAPLES.

THE ENIGMA OF WILKIE COLLINS

By T. W. Hill

WILKIE COLLINS has not until now been the subject of a complete biography, and the reason for this seems to have been that, although warm and steadfast in his friendships, gentle and courteous and companionable by nature, very little was known about him.

A re-reading of *The Woman in White* while in hospital during World War II inspired Mr. Kenneth Robinson to read Collins's other romances, now much neglected, and to examine all the possible sources of information, literary essays, reminiscences, memoirs, and above all Collins's own numerous letters. The present excellent biography* is the result, and it must be said at once that a live portrait of the man is presented. Mr. Robinson's industry and care in assembling his facts and the skilful way in which he has used them call for admiration.

William Wilkie Collins was the son of an artist and the godson of an artist (hence his second name) and was brought up amongst artistic surroundings; he learnt to paint and one of his pictures was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1848, but painting was not his real love; he tried commerce in a tea merchant's office, but did not like it and spent most of his time scribbling and had ideas for an historical novel of Roman times, then he tried law and was called to the bar but never practised. Writing was his favourite hobby; he had been as a boy an avid reader with an imagination of his own, and in his letters from school shewed that even then he had a narrative gift, for he says that the prefect of his dormitory demanded stories from young Wilkie, much as Steerforth demanded stories from young David Copperfield.

When only five years old he was taken by his father for a short holiday in France and at the age of thirteen accompanied his parents on a sojourn on the Continent that lasted for two years during which he attained a proficiency in French and Italian that he never lost. His memory of continental life and scenery was useful later when writing his romances.

Collins's father who died in 1848 had expressed a wish that Wilkie should write his biography, and that was published the following year when the young man was only twenty-four. It was his debut as an author and was followed by his Roman novel *Antonina* which launched him on his literary career. His friendship with Augustus Egg, R.A. introduced him to Dickens, who, although he had known Wilkie's father, had never met Wilkie till 1851 when Egg recommended him as an amateur actor for the production of *Not So Bad As We Seem.*

Wilkie Collins was never married, but one cannot quite say that he had no experience of "married" life, and Mr. Robinson gives us for the first time the story of his domestic surroundings. About 1859 when he was 35 years of age he had to live with him Mrs. Caroline Graves, who already had a daughter whom he adopted. Caroline stayed with Collins till 1868 when she left to

* *Wilkie Collins, a Biography*, by Kenneth Robinson, Bodley Head, 18s.

be married. Collins attended the wedding and signed the Register. He then formed a liaison with a Martha Rudd, known as Mrs. Dawson, who bore him three "morganatic" children between 1869 and 1874. In 1870 or 1871 Caroline, still bearing her former name of Graves came back and stopped with him till his death in 1889. She and her daughter attended his funeral and Mrs. Dawson sent a wreath. All these irregular "relatives" were beneficiaries under his will, and when Caroline died in 1895 she was buried in Collins's grave over which he had left instructions for a "plain stone cross" to be erected. For some years the grave was tended by Mrs. Dawson, but she and her family, in Mr. Robinson's words "soon lost themselves among London's nameless millions."

The question might arise whether the themes dealt with in Collins's novels were the outcome of the experiences of his private life, or whether his domestic atmosphere was affected by the thoughts expressed in his novels. He had been strictly brought up by very religious parents, but when he became a novelist, practically all his books from *Basil* in 1842 to his last book *Blind Love* in 1890 are largely concerned with sex-relationships. Devoted love as portrayed by sentimental writers had but a small place in Collins's philosophy, which deals with intrigue and ambition, coupled with the study of illegitimacy, divorce and the marriage laws, and the status of woman. The titles he chose for his books give some indication of this: *The Woman in White, Hide and Seek, The Dead Secret, No Name, The New Magdalen, The Law and the Lady, Jezebel's Daughter,* are only a few. Mr. Robinson devotes much space to giving some outline of Collins's novels, enough to show his special gifts in framing complicated stories, some of them positive labyrinths of plot and counter-plot, innocence confronted with wickedness, mystery not solved till the end of the book, and all depending on coincidence stretched sometimes to the full extent of credibility, but all without exception are marked by felicity of description, power of creating atmosphere, and skill in sustaining interest and excitement with outstanding ability in the art of telling a story. Some knowledge of Collins's books is necessary for the reader to appreciate fully the expertness of Mr. Robinson's presentation of his subject and the breadth of his outlook.

Much has been written of the mutual effect of Dickens and Collins upon each other's work. It has been commonly assumed that, because Dickens's earliest novels had about them an air of being loosely constructed and discursive, and were often the vehicle of his reforming spirit in exposing bad social conditions, it was his association with Collins that strongly influenced the tighter construction of his later plots, but a study of Professor Butt's analysis of Dickens's own notes for the writing of *Dombey and Son* and *David Copperfield,* written before he knew Collins, prove very conclusively that Dickens had little if anything to learn, especially from a nearly untried young man twelve years his junior, about plot-construction and the anticipation of events that might not occur until the final stages of the book. Moreover we know from Dickens's letters to Collins that the younger man did learn and

benefit much from the experienced writer. They were such close friends that they could not fail, in their interchange of conversation to consult each other about their work, and there were occasions when they actually collaborated so well that in stories like *The Perils of Certain English Prisoners, The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices, A Message from the Sea* and *No Thoroughfare* each of them read the manuscript of the other, and it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to distinguish what is pure Dickens and what pure Collins. One thing is quite certain; after Dickens's death in 1870 (and Collins survived him for nearly twenty years) the quality of Collins's work steadily deteriorated, and Mr. Robinson brings this out by heading the chapter on this phase " The Turning Point."

I cannot think that Mr. Robinson is quite fair to John Forster, on the " Bear " side of whose character he lays some stress. One can quite understand that there may have been a tinge of jealousy in Forster when he realised that a man twelve years younger than himself and one much more lively in disposition was being taken so much to Dickens's heart in his leisure hours, and who probably provided an agreeable outlet for Dickens's natural high spirits, and this probably accounts for the fact that so little mention is made of Collins in the *Life of Charles Dickens*. But it may be placed on record that when in 1861 Collins was elected a member of the Athenaeum on the strength of the success of *The Woman in White*, his greatest story, he was proposed in the Book of Candidates by Dickens and seconded by Forster, who had then known him for ten years. They also served together on the Committee of the Guild of Literature and Art, as well as on the Committee of the Jerrold Fund. Mr. Robinson condemns Forster for refusing in 1871 to give George Bentley some letters from Richard Bentley to Dickens, but ignores the fact that those letters, included in the bequest from Dickens to Forster, formed part of the collection that Forster designed to leave complete to the Nation after his own death. It should also be remembered that with all the comradeship between Collins and Dickens in his lighter moments, it was " my dear and trusty Friend John Forster " who was appointed executor in Dickens's will, in which Collins's name is not even mentioned. Dickens's death, even on Mr. Robinson's own showing, does not seem to have affected Collins, and one learns that there were long periods in the last few years of Dickens's life when the two friends did not meet at all, although there is no evidence in Dickens's letters of any falling-off in personal regard.

After 1870 Collins's closest friend was Frank Carr Beard (who had been also Dickens's medical adviser) whom he had known for many years. He constantly visited Dickens's widow till her death in 1879; he retained the friendship of Dickens's daughter Kate who had married his brother Charles, and he kept in touch with with Charles Dickens the Younger who attended his funeral. In 1873 he made a successful reading tour in America where he was fêted by the literary folk. Of his Readings he wrote (perhaps a little sardonically) " I don't flourish a paper-knife and stamp about the platform and thump the reading desk . . . "

Collins, who was never robust, became more and more afflicted

with illness. His special enemy was gout in the eyes as well as the limbs and for his excruciating pain he took large doses of laudanum, but anodynes were not of much avail so long as he did not deny himself the pleasures of the table, including wine, and his addiction to black pepper could not have been very beneficial. Later he suffered from bronchial trouble rather severely; in spite of which he continued to write whenever possible, though the quality was bound to suffer. In June, 1889, he had a paralytic stroke from which he partially rallied, but his work was finished, and on September 23rd he sent a note to Frank Beard "I am dying; come if you can," but when Beard arrived Wilkie Collins was beyond the reach of human help.

Mr. Kenneth Robinson's self-imposed labour of love has conferred a great benefit on all lovers of nineteenth century literary history, and has produced one of the most readable biographies of recent years. One feels, on reluctantly putting it down, that here is the standard biography of Wilkie Collins.

THE MOODS OF LONDON

By P. R. Aytiman

READERS of this magazine will know Mr. R. J. Cruikshank, one of our Vice-Presidents, from his books *The Roaring Century* and *Charles Dickens and Early Victorian England* as both a good Dickensian and a social historian with a vigorous and forthright style. His new book* reveals him as a meditative writer, almost a dreamer, with a gentle sensitive way of expressing himself. It is not, and is not intended to be, a guide-book in the accepted sense, but it is invaluable for the un-hurried moocher and the thoughtful loiterer, and is equally enjoyable as a fireside companion. Mr. Cruikshank's theme is that London, vast as it is with its many differing districts –industrial and residential, commercial and leisured, educational and recreational, closely built up and openly laid out—is nevertheless a complete whole with as many "moods" as a human being, reflecting the varied professions and occupations that go to make it what it is. Particularly attractive is the chapter "Village mood," dealing with the contrasted characteristics of the "villages," north, south, east, and west, that have been swallowed up by the growth of the metropolis and yet have retained their individual identities. "Mood of Squares" recalls London's unique possession of spots of greenery so refreshing and full of sentiment and history, and containing so much Dickensian background that is most helpful for visualising Arcadian London, Shy Neighbourhoods and many other of the haunts of *The Uncommercial Traveller*. If we share Mr. Cruikshank's love of wandering about in London we may live with Mr. Dombey, or lodge with the Pockets, or work in the Circumlocution Office, and enjoy the experience.

* *The Moods of London*, by R. J. Cruikshank. Hamish Hamilton. 10/6.

BOZ BROUGHT TO LIFE

By "PLAYFELLOW" of *Truth*

IT is always risky to assert that anything in human activity has just been done for the first time. But the brilliant Welsh actor Emlyn Williams can surely be credited with having invented something in the impersonation line. Famous authors have been made characters of many plays, with varying degrees of success; and have been lampooned endlessly in revue. Actors have given readings from novels, and authors nowadays read stories of their own over radio and television almost as a matter of course. But Mr. Williams has gone one better than the thousands of professional and amateur entertainers, good bad, and unendurable, who for the past seventy years have favoured public and private audiences with impressions of "characters from the works of Charles Dickens." Best of these is the now octogenarian Bransby Williams; but even he was most disrespectfully burlesqued as "Mr. Grandsby Bilious" by the now almost forgotten troupe, The Follies, run by that short-lived genius H. G. Pelissier.

Emlyn Williams as Charles Dickens

Photo: Angus McBean

Emlyn Williams's inspiration (for it is nothing less) has been to appear in the semblance of Charles Dickens, giving readings in the manner of the master. I happened to be present at his first public appearance in this guise. At the height of a five-hour Sunday performance in aid of stage charities, at Drury Lane Theatre on February 4th, 1951, we were regaled with what to me was its most memorable item. On to the stage, empty but for a reading-desk, there strode the ostensible figure of Charles Dickens. Many of us must have felt instantly and instinctively critical of the outward semblance. A little too short? And the beard, seen side-face? As near as crêpe-hair can get to it, perhaps. But no sooner had he taken up his position behind the desk and prepared to declaim with calm assurance, than I was completely persuaded of the authenticity of this pocket Boz. Coiffure, beard, facial lines and attitude were, like the tailoring, plainly the result of much care.

The actor's art soon did the rest. The frilled shirt and white gloves lost any incongruity. With the briefest of preambles, the descriptive passages in the 48th chapter of *Bleak House*, leading to the discovery of the murdered Mr. Tulkinghorn were delivered with infinitely more than Polonius's "good accent and good discretion." Indeed, the persuasive, mounting drama of words,

gripping enough on the printed page, held Old Drury's vast audience mute and rapt.

Nine months later I saw his one-man programme. Until I heard of his " try-out " at Cambridge a few weeks before, I had assumed that the Drury Lane interlude was a little virtuoso turn designed for that occasion only; an unforgettable gem of original inspiration unlikely to be repeated. But now we were in for a complete evening of Dickensian " readings," as the author did them. How seldom can an individual hold an audience completely for the duration of a full entertainment! To-day, Ruth Draper, Cornelia Otis Skinner, Maurice Chevalier, Cilli Wang—a successful handful. With promptitude and enthusiasm, critics and public have added the name of the distinguished Welsh actor. I did not see him at the Lyric, Hammersmith, where it soon became obvious that the West End would repeat the welcome. At the Criterion he gave us six pieces. The Podsnap extract was followed by a little summary of the life and death of Paul Dombey. Here pathos could so easily be transmuted into bathos that only discretion and sincerity could save it, as it did with intensely moving effect. Bob Sawyer's Lant Street party, with but a shadowy suggestion of Mr. Pickwick's presence, preceded *The Signalman*, that doleful ghost story, and the showman's tale of Mr. Chops, the dwarf. Finally, Monseigneur's journey from *A Tale of Two Cities* rounded things off superbly; Mr. Williams stepped down and turned to bow to the few volumes on the desk, before quitting the stage. This unassuming but fascinating piece of furniture is a replica of the one Dickens designed for his own use, now to be seen at the Dickens House. Less than a rostrum, it has a shelf for water-bottle and gloves, and a block of wood to serve as arm-rest. The actor's delivery is eloquent but ever restrained; gestures stop short of floridity, and a leaf of the book is now and again flipped over for effect.

To seek comparisons with Dickens's own histrionics is, I suggest, an unprofitable task. No straightforward yardstick exists. Dickens, an accomplished amateur actor, must have adopted the the Victorian style of declamation to get results which are now achieved by a technique of modern professional polish, which in practice often means more economy of effort. Then, the readings were given, in almost every case, in halls, not theatres where make-up, lighting and presentation result in a different atmosphere. Above all, the striking feature of Emlyn Williams's experiment is that he is giving, not simply acting readings, but a delineation, never too obtrusive, of the author in action. In other words, *an impersonation of an impersonator.*

From him I learn that the venture so emphatically crowned with success is the fruit of many months' thought and preparation. As a feat of memory alone it seems fantastic to the layman. I pay equal honour to the skilled judgment in cutting and assembling the extracts—a responsibility probably only to be discharged adequately by one of dramatic and literary instincts in combination, which of course Dickens had.

A three-act treatment of *Bleak House* characters is among the ideas of further performances. Meanwhile, Emlyn Williams has

captured London, added to his public through television and made plans to visit America. He is 46; Dickens, at the start of his readings, was 45. There are already signs that non-Dickensians are being made converts by Mr. Williams, who has been giving a large part of his earnings to theatrical charities. I hope to see him in more and more of these brilliant readings; but as they must be exhausting, he will no doubt beware of the dangers of overwork that eventually overtook his illustrious, creative prototype.

[Mr. Emlyn Williams opened his two week season at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, on October 29th. This was followed by three weeks at the Criterion Theatre beginning on November 19th, and six weeks at the Duchess Theatre from December 11th. The The programme remained the same throughout—Editor.]

THE DICKENS HOUSE ENDOWMENT FUND

(WALTER DEXTER MEMORIAL)

	£	s.	d.	*Branch Total to date* £	s.	d.
Blackburn—Mr. Leo Mason	2	0	0	102	7	0
Broadstairs—Miss G. Waterer	2	0	0	11	10	0
Gloucester—Mrs. Grimes: sale of her late husband's books	8	6	0	25	7	0
Los Angeles	5	0	0	26	10	0
Madison	0	15	0	52	9	0
Nottingham—sale Mr. Sand's plays	0	15	0	269	7	0
Palos Verdes	6	5	0	19	5	0
Rochester	5	10	6	109	2	6
Rugby—Mrs. Hudson's Whist Drive	1	18	0	30	18	6
Shrewsbury	0	10	6	6	1	0
St. Pancras—						
Miss Greatwood and Miss Minards: Whist Drive	5	7	0			
Mrs. Wisdom: in memory of Mrs. Malschinger	3	0	0			
Mrs. Maud Fritz—ten dollars—say	3	10	0	133	18	0
Wellington	6	0	0	54	16	2
HEADQUARTERS						
Mr. Colin D. Currie in memory of the late Harold Currie	500	0	0			
Costume Department	100	0	0			
Legacy—the late William A. Clark	100	0	0			
Bring and Buy Sale	36	8	1			
Sale of books of the late T. Gibbons Close	23	8	6			
Sale of books	20	0	0			
Mr. John Greaves—lectures and recitals	19	12	0			
Christmas Party—						
Bear and Russian 0 6 0						
Gipsy Peg 0 13 0						
Gipsy Lavender 1 16 6						
Hoop-La 1 17 6						
Bearded Lady 2 5 6						
	6	18	6			
Mr. and Mrs. J. Greaves—raffle	2	12	6			
Mrs. Shelley and Miss Cook—raffle	2	10	0			
Miss Ruth Whittaker	1	1	0			
Anon	1	0	0			
Miss C. I. Davis	1	0	0			
Mrs. Johnson—sale of needles	0	13	8			
Mrs. T. Rant	0	12	6			
Mrs. Mina P. Litton	0	4	6			
Mr. Chas. F. Ingram	0	3	9			
Mr. Richard E. Reed	0	3	6	816	3	6

Total to date: £7,494 15*s.* 9*d.*

JOHN HENRY BARROW AND THE ROYAL LITERARY FUND

By K. J. Fielding

AMONG a number of papers associated with Dickens which I have been fortunate enough to discover at the Royal Literary Fund, are some relating to an application to that society for assistance made by his uncle, John Henry Barrow.* Although, as it will appear, they have only the slightest direct reference to Dickens by name, the story they tell of his uncle's struggles and misfortunes is of interest in itself. The circumstances of the application, and Dickens's refusal to associate himself with it, are certainly significant; and they remind us, moreover, that both early and later in life, we know least of Dickens's relations with those who were closest to him, his relatives and his own family.

The Literary Fund had been founded by the Rev. David Williams, about 1790, "for the protection and relief of persons of genius and learning, or their families, who shall be in want,"† and more particularly for the authors of published works. Dickens was a member of the Council and General Committee for many years, and helped several authors of his acquaintance, and others whose cases were brought to his attention, to assistance by the society. Many of the files in the records of the society include letters he wrote on behalf of the applicants, and it might well have been thought that the papers referring to his uncle would have included a recommendation by his nephew, or at least some information about the merits of the case. In fact they contain nothing by Dickens himself; but his silence, and no doubt direct refusal to lend his aid, are as revealing as an actual document.

Barrow applied to the society on March 2nd, 1858, filling in the usual details required on the application form. His case was authenticated by, amongst others, Dickens's brothers Alfred and Frederick (then, respectively, at the General Board of Health and the War Office), J. W. Parker Junior the publisher, and L. T. D'Eyncourt the magistrate, son of Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt first M.P. for Lambeth who had employed John Henry Barrow, Charles Dickens, and his father in the elections of 1832 and 1834. A few days before, on February 27th, Barrow had written a letter addressed to the secretary giving an account of his publications and career. He began by saying that:

> . . . Dating from my first connection with the "*Times*" newspaper in 1819, when I succeeded the late Dr. Cresswell as Reporter for the Spiritual and Maritime Courts at Doctors' Commons, I have been, I believe, one of the most extensive

* John Henry Barrow, 1796-1858. His full name is given, because he always used it himself, there being another well-known contemporary John Barrow. Born 4th January, at Somerset House. 1817, married. 1823, admitted to Gray's Inn. 1828, founded *Mirror of Parliament*, separated from wife, and called to Bar. He was the author of *Emir Malek*, an historical novel (1827), several minor works, and various contributions to the periodical and newspaper press. 1840, secretary to the Mixed British and Portuguese Commission. 1841, *Mirror* ceased publication. Leader-writer for the *Morning Herald* (1841-3), *Sun* (1843-5), *Hampshire Advertiser* (1848-55). Overseas correspondent for the *Daily News* (1845-6). Died 30th March, 1858. See also W. J. Carlton, *Dickensian*, 1949, XLV, 149-52, "An Echo of the Copperfield Days."

† *Charter of Incorporation*, St. Albans, 1926. Granted 1818.

contributors of my day to the Political, and Literary Journals, Reviews, and Periodicals of the Metropolis.

He went on to justify this claim, adding a long list of publications and references to work for the *European Review*, *Paget's Law Journal*, *The News of Literature*, the *Edinburgh Review*, *Fraser's Magazine*, and the *Daily News*, besides leader-writing for the *Morning Herald*, the *Sun*, *John Bull*, and the *Hampshire Advertiser*. He was certainly an active fully-qualified professional journalist, though not a conspicuously successful one.

Recently, he went on to say, he had been engaged in preparing his *Memoirs*. Had they survived they would undoubtedly have been of the greatest interest, but it has been impossible to trace them, and all enquiries among his descendants and other relatives have neither resulted in their discovery, nor in even any recollection of them. Nevertheless, his statement concludes:

> . . . Whilst busily occupied last year, on a book for the production of which my peculiar position from 1828 to 1841 and its facilities had afforded me ample and some exclusive materials ("Memoirs of the Professional Life and Times of the Editor of the Mirror of Parliament")—I had the misfortune to be exposed, for some hours, whilst much heated, to the storm which ushered in the month of July. On reaching home I took to my bed, and the violent cold which I had contracted soon determined in a combined Malady that has ever since disabled me from all possibility of completing my outstanding engagements or undertaking new ones. I can neither write, except at the cost of intolerable pain, with my own hand or read, owing to the position required for either pursuit. Struck down and *bed-ridden* by this combined lumbago of the most intense type—violent inflammation of the bowels, kidneys & stomach, with spasmodic affection of the chest; I have long since exhausted all my funds, means, resources, connexions. My Doctor has pronounced all hope of my ultimate recovery vain, but holds out a promise of being able to protract my existence, if I would carefully adhere to his prescriptions as to medicines and nutritious aliment. This I should be only too happy to do, but for the fact that both the one and the other are too costly for a man who addresses you under absolute inability to supply himself and two younger children, aged respectively 15 and 13, who alone remain of a larger family on his hands—with the common and daily necessaries of life.

At a meeting of the members of the General Committee on March 10th, he was voted £50. Alfred Dickens acknowledged their grant on the 12th, writing from Whitehall. The next day, Barrow wrote to express his gratitude himself, and to say that the donation "has shed a gleam of sunshine over the clouded and inauspicious close of my career—broken down as I have been by physical sickness and mental anxiety—the value of which is by no means to be estimated by its pecuniary amount."

His case was soon past helping further. On March 30th,*

* Barrow in fact died on the 30th March, and Frederick Dickens presumably wrote next day on the 31st, mis-dating his letter.

Frederick Dickens wrote from the War Office to say, " I am sure you will be grieved to hear that poor Mr. Barrow died yesterday at 2.30 p.m. "; adding, in another, of April 6th, " I shall carry to my grave deep feelings of obligation to yourself personally and to the Committee of the Literary Fund generally, for the comfort administered to a valued relative of my family in his last moments." He was buried on April 3rd, in a common grave at the South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood.

It is certainly rather surprising, at first sight, that Dickens apparently took no trouble to help his uncle, when he had taken every care to assist many other unfortunate writers with their applications to the Literary Fund. Of course, he may have refrained from recommending his case simply because he was a near relative; but this consideration seems to have had no weight with Alfred and Frederick. It is quite possible that he was no longer on good terms with his uncle, who is last mentioned in his published *Letters* no later than 1847. But there were certainly other reasons also, well known to Dickens, that would have made any such recommendation of his uncle rather a delicate affair, which he would have had every reason to avoid, especially early in 1858.

In filling in his application form John Henry Barrow had noted, as required, that he was married, and that he had six living children, two of whom were still dependent on him. What he did not explain—since he was not asked—was that although the children were his, they were not his wife's. He had been married on August 16th, 1817; had separated from his wife in 1828; and ever since that date he had been living with another woman, the mother of his children, who also called herself Mrs. Barrow. She was, in fact, a Miss Lucina Arabella Fidelia Pocock, daughter of Major Luke Pocock. They appear to have had ten children in all, six of whom were still living in 1858. The second Mrs. Barrow had died in May, 1851.

When Barrow's death was noted in the press, it was openly stated that he had been helped by the Literary Fund during his last illness. The real Mrs. Barrow, who was still living, apart from her husband and in great distress, noticed the announcement and took advantage of it by writing to the society to claim its assistance as his widow. She wrote on April 26th, enclosing a completed application form for the consideration of the Committee:

> . . . I have there referred generally to the writings of my late husband Mr. John H. Barrow and I feel confident that in those writings nothing has ever appeared but what bore testimony to his great abilities, and never anything at variance with the great truths of Morality & Religion. Notwithstanding the excellence of his recorded opinions & his general high character of honor it was my late husband's misfortune to neglect a once refined and happy home & to choose the society of a strange female by whom he had a large family. In consequence of the above unhappy circumstances a separation was effected between my late husband & myself by mutual agreement in 1828. I was to have received £150 per annum, which I did receive for

a few years—after which my income was rapidly decreased, and for the last three years I have had positively nothing from him & have generally been ignorant of his residence. My means of support consists and has consisted since Christmas 1852, of 10/6 per week which a few kind friends have furnished me with & continue to provide. These friends have all known me for many years.

Among those whom she named was "Chas. Dickens Esqr." With this application she also forwarded letters from two gentlemen who had known her for fifteen years in one case, and for twenty in the other. Besides these documents she enclosed her marriage certificate, a copy of which was taken by the secretary, which showed that John Henry Barrow and Kitty Collins had been married at St. George's, Hanover Square, on August 16th, 1817. The Committee—who were particularly careful about assisting more than one wife, having had trouble of that kind before—had no doubt of the justice of her claim, and she was granted £25. Since she was relieved as a dependent only, and not as an author, no subsequent application was possible.

There may have been other good reasons why Dickens took no part in either application to the society, but it would obviously have been deeply embarrassing to him at a time when he was already beginning to think of his own separation. Having helped to support Mrs. Barrow for the last five or six years, he probably felt no obligation to help his uncle and the two children as well. His brother Frederick, on the other hand, was having trouble over alimony with the Court of Probate and Divorce, himself, at the time, and may well have had some fellow feeling. Further, although the proceedings of the Fund were conducted in confidence Dickens had recently bitterly antagonised most of the members of the Committee over the question of reforming the society, and it would have been unpleasant for him to have had to associate himself with an application to them for help to a member of his own family. Although this incident adds little to what we know of Dickens himself, it does suggest how much may still remain to be discovered.

Championed by Dickens

The Little Sisters of the Poor, whose arrival in England a hundred years ago raised questions in a less tolerant parliament than that of to-day and whose cause was championed in *Household Words*, celebrated their centenary this year. The article in Dickens's journal appeared on February 14th, 1852, and was written by Henry Morley. To-day the Order has 6,000 sisters looking after 47,000 old people in 311 homes.

A NEW EDITION OF DICKENS'S LETTERS

By Humphry House

Abridged from a Broadcast Talk
Published by kind permission of the author and of *The Listener*

AFTER eighteen months the mere machinery of editing Dickens's Letters became so big that we had to give a room up to it.

Its shelves hold thirty-nine box-files, mostly three inches deep and foolscap size. From there along the mantelpiece runs the *Dictionary of National Biography;* and at the Z end, after a few Supplements, the *Index and Epitome* props up a blue folder solemnly marked "Microfilm Guide." This is kept in place to the right by a glossy-green block of eight card-index drawers. These act as an index to the whole work. This index now contains about 8,000 cards, one for each letter of Dickens known to us. We know there are more extant letters than this, but we have not yet chased and recorded them. The card ideally gives a record—and the index is wayward because of the varying degrees in which this ideal is approached—of a letter's past history in print, if it has any and we know it; the location of the manuscript, if we know it; an account of our handling of the letter; a reference to the file containing our text, if we have got beyond the printed sources; and sometimes a few short jottings and spatterings of notes on other points. The main jottings for notes are filed with the texts. The serious work of annotation must be done near the end; for we find, as the new letters stream in, that one often annotates another.

Along the wall of the room is a collection of books—cheap texts of Dickens's works; sets of the three periodicals he edited; a complete run, from its beginning in 1905, of that remarkable periodical *The Dickensian*, many books, of very patchy quality, about Dickens and his works; and diaries and memoirs and biographies of his more important friends, many of which contain texts of letters or extracts from them. There are the different editions of Dickens's letters that have been already published. The first edition of all was edited by Dickens's sister-in-law Georgina Hogarth and his daughter Mamie, in three volumes between 1880 and 1882. These three were then rearranged in two volumes, and the whole was altered and rearranged again in a one-volume edition in 1893. From that time until 1938 no attempt was made to produce a collected edition of the letters; and then three fat volumes of Letters, edited by Walter Dexter, formed part of the beautiful limited edition of Dickens's works published by the Nonesuch Press. But the letters could never be bought without a whole set of the works, and the present market price of the whole set—they come into the market very rarely—is £100 or 100 guineas. The collected letters are thus virtually inaccessible, and the ordinary interested reader has nothing available but one or other edition of the family selection which we nickname "Mamie-Georgie."

And it *is* a family selection, edited by family methods, showing all possible faults of editing in a bewildering variety of forms and countless instances. Bits of two separate letters of different dates are fused together, without any warning being given, under a single date; and in shortening the edition for one volume in 1893, bits of no less than three letters were put together as belonging to one, even though they had been presented differently before. It was even odder to add words to the text which Dickens never wrote at all. In the Mamie-Georgie version of a letter describing Macready's daughter, Betty, occurs the phrase—" with a face of great power and character," and there is no sign whatever of these words in a microfilm view of the manuscript.

Unfortunately the Nonesuch editor was so rushed that he perpetuated a number of these errors and did not have the opportunity or the time to see all the manuscripts; and many more letters have come to light since the 'thirties. So we are starting again from scratch and are relying on no printed text when we can go to the original. A sample may help to show how far we have (in just over two years) been able to go beyond the Nonesuch edition. If we take the letters to correspondents whose surnames begin with the letters A to C, the Nonesuch includes just over 1,200, including those of which only extracts are given, and those which are merely mentioned as existing, no part of the text being printed. In that same group we have so far got transcripts from original Mss of 478, and transcripts from facsimile (that is, from microfilm or photostat or from photo-facsimiles in printed books) of 451; this means first or second quality texts of 929 letters. We have microfilm waiting for transcription of (very roughly indeed) 650 more; and we have record of 540 of which we have not yet seen originals or facsimiles. That makes a total of about 2,100 for our edition, as against 1,200 in the fullest edition at present published. I doubt whether that proportion would be borne out all through; this sample is not altogether typical, in that it includes among the microfilms not yet transcribed the huge correspondence to Miss Burdett Coutts which was recently sold in New York and is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. The arrangement about this is that Professor Edgar S. Johnson, one of the American members of our Advisory Board, is to edit first a selection, and we then follow with the whole. Professor Johnson has estimated, quite independently of our records, that there are 3,500 extant letters of Dickens unpublished; and it would take too long to try to confirm or deny it!

Dickens was so famous so young; long before he was thirty, people were treasuring his letters and seeking his autograph. We have come across very few cases of recorded loss or destructions; in fact, off-hand, I can only think of John Forster and one innocent child. Everybody tended to preserve, and then to treasure or to sell. The prices in the market are still high. Besides this, Dickens was a man of incredible energy, with countless friends and with a liking for keeping much of his work in his own hands. Even when he was an editor he would often write a full, polite letter of rejection to a contributor entirely in his own autograph. For these reasons the number of his extant letters is

so prodigious, that an office and all this machinery is needed to handle them. I can imagine somebody asking whether it is really worth publishing the whole lot, down to the last letter of rejection and the note ordering new boots for the coachman. I think it can be justified. Dickens was a man of major importance for many reasons; it is a *sine qua non* of proper biography that the letters should be brought together in print, properly indexed and annotated; and the filling of the gaps will contribute also to the social history of the century. And even for the ordinary reader, the view of his personality could never be complete without seeing day after day the streaming energy of his correspondence in bulk and detail; a mere selection disguises all that, and fails to show how even in an order to a wine-merchant a character and a style is given to every syllable. With all the letters, a day falls into shape under one's eyes.

Take a date at random, say my own birthday, May 22nd, in a central year of Dickens's life, say 1850. He must have been at work on *David Copperfield* then; it came out in parts in 1849 and 1850. Look up in Hatton and Cleaver—No. XIII, May ; No. XIV, June ; No. XV, July. Perhaps he was working then on the July number, that is Chapters 44 to 46, including the housekeeping of Doady and Dora. But besides *Copperfield* he was then editing *Household Words*, which had started as a new venture only in March of that year. Look at the typed copy of the Contributors' Book. The key to the filing-system hangs framed over the mantelpiece; everything about *Household Words* is R.3.d (R.1 and R.3 live together in a single box, because R.2 is very special). Here is the thing, giving the names of all the contributors for each issue. The current number for May 18th had two contributions from Dickens himself, the well-known article called " The Begging-Letter Writer " and something called " Card from Mr. Booley," which I cannot remember at all. So I look it up in Volume I. It is a short note on pages 175-6, all about " Mr. Booley's remarks in addressing the Social Oysters " linked up to Mr. Thomas Grieve and " the beautiful diorama of the route of the Overland Mail to India." There simply is not time to look into this now. But the next number of *Household Words*, for May 25th, has an article of Dickens's own I know well and have quoted somewhere, called " A Walk in a Workhouse," a splendid social article looking back to Oliver and forward to old Nandy and Betty Higden, just an incidental part of a life's campaign against the administration of the law of 1834, but written with incredible gusto. That must have been in print by May 22nd, possibly with final proofs still to correct. And Dickens might even then have been thinking over or altering the article he did in collaboration with W. H. Wills for the number of June 1st—" A Popular Delusion," about Billingsgate and the marketing of London fish.

Nothing ties down to the day, May 22nd, but here all round it accrues an immense amount of work, and one after another, and one on top of the other, typical Dickens themes pile up in thought or proof or manuscript all along with the current instalment of *David Copperfield*. He may well have had no time to write any

letters on May 22nd at all. Which volume of the Nonesuch does 1850 come in? I cannot be sure; they did not put the year-dates on the spine—and that is a mistake we must not repeat. I think Volume II; yes; May; page 216; letters for May 12th, 13th, 18th, 24th are there. A short letter to John Leech on Saturday, May 18th, comes nearest, from the Office of *Household Words:*

> Book me for the Derby—but don't you think we ought to have four on 'em? As to a hamper from Fortnum & Mason's, *that* I consider indispensable.

Then there is nothing till the mere mention, with no text at all, of a letter to Talfourd of May 24th, referring to *David Copperfield*. It is rather a long gap even over a week-end. I will see if we have found any new ones: that means the F.1 series of files, the carbon copies of our own new texts, kept in chronological order to be the working supplement to the Nonesuch edition. F.1.b. is 1841-1850. We have got a new letter for May 12th, and no less than three new ones for May 22nd.

> Devonshire Terrace
> Twenty Second May, 1850
>
> Mr. Charles Dickens presents his compliments to Mr. Ellerman, and begs to acknowledge the safe receipt of Mr. Ellerman's drama, and of his obliging note.

Same address and date:

> Sir,
>
> I beg to assure the Members of the Newsvendors' Benevolent and Provident Institution, that I am very much gratified by their generous remembrance of me on the occasion of their last Annual Meeting; and that any services I can render them, at any time, are freely and cordially at their command.
>
> Your faithful Servant
> Mr. Edward W. Cole. Charles Dickens.

The day begins to fill out; the stream of complimentary copies, of books the great man is asked to read, the unending demands on his time, the need to answer. Then a note about an old loyalty and affection—the Newsvendors' Association for whom he made some of his happiest speeches.

And then the third letter from Devonshire Terrace on May 22nd, 1850:

> Sir,
>
> In reply to your courteous letter, I beg to say, that my avocations would not admit of my responding to such a requisition as you describe, though I should be very sensible of the honour of its presentation to me.
>
> I am Sir
> Yours faithfully and obliged
> James G. Winn Esquire. Charles Dickens

The jottings for the notes made by one of my associate editors there say: "A note from the donor of the letter says that this letter is an answer to one from Winn suggesting that C.D. allow himself to be nominated as a Candidate for Parliament." I do

not know the value of that authority yet; but suppose it is sound, see how the calm refusal even of that just fits into the day's work. May 22nd has come considerably to life.

You will have noticed all along that I talk of *us* and *our*. Of course a job of this size has to be done by a team. Besides myself there are two Associate Editors, Kenneth Fielding and Zoë Jeffen, former pupils of mine; my wife is Assistant Editor. And there is an Advisory Board of seven English and three American members. Two years ago we made an appeal for knowledge of MSS in the press, all over the world. The response was huge—answers from every continent except Asia; and the address-book has now the names of nearly 200 owners or helpers. Such is the posthumous interest in Dickens and the power of his personality. That power appears most in the letters.

THE FELLOWSHIP IN REPROSPECT

THE HALF-CENTURY APPROACHES COMPLETION

By John Greaves

II

Continued from page 30

As 1936 approached, plans for the great Pickwick Centenary were gradually perfected. A Committee of outstanding personalities under the chairmanship of the Lord Mayor of London, who was then our President, turned its attention to making it something to be remembered. The 1936 Conference was moved two months earlier than usual to coincide with the Pickwick celebrations. It was a great misfortune that the sudden death of H.M. King George V caused an unavoidable alteration to our plans. H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who had consented to honour the Pickwick Centenary Banquet at the Grosvenor House with his presence and to propose the Toast of The Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens, was unable to attend. The Dickens Ball arranged at the same place in aid of the Infant's Hospital had to be postponed.

The celebrations did include, however, a ride of the Pickwickians on the Commodore Coach to Rochester, followed by members in motor coaches and a reception by His Worship the Mayor of Rochester. A Dickens Matinee was also held at the Palladium with a wonderful cast of theatrical celebrities culminating in a Dickensian finale in which many members of the Fellowship appeared as Dickens characters. A special Pickwick Exhibition was arranged at 48 Doughty Street, and many of our activities were broadcast and filmed. The President and Hon. Secretary addressed our Overseas Branches from the Dickens House and sent greetings to them, resulting in a substantial addition to our membership. *The Dickensian* published special Pickwick Centenary numbers throughout the year which were devoted in great measure to the book in question. The Dickensian Finale at the great Pickwick matinee had been dressed entirely by our Costume

Department, which had to be exclusively devoted to preparations for this event for three months. As the years passed, reports of continued success were made and a total of 151 costumes in 1935 had risen to 268 in 1937.

The end of the Pickwick year was marked by the enforced retirement, owing to deafness, of Mr. A. W. Edwards from the Hon. Secretaryship after eleven years of devoted service. A dinner was given to him at the Palace Hotel, Bloomsbury, at which many tributes were paid to him and to Mrs. Edwards for their unselfish work for the Fellowship and a presentation made to them. Mr. Edwards, after acknowledging the many tributes, welcomed his successor, Mr. S. J. Rust. Mr. Rust, endeared to our members as Mr. Pickwick, had been in the Fellowship twenty years. Besides holding various offices he had been instrumental in founding the St. Pancras Branch and was concerned with the formation of yet two other branches near London, Balham and Edgware.

The years following the Pickwick Centenary were quiet in comparison, activities in 1938 being marred to a great extent by the Munich crisis and all that led up to it. The Fellowship was nevertheless far from idle during this time. Many charity performances were given by our Dramatic Company led by Miss Frances Jolly and it was not until war-time conditions made the difficulties of carrying on these performances insuperable that she was obliged to admit defeat in enforced inactivity. Representations, on behalf of the Fellowship, by Mr. Dexter and Mr. Hill, resulted in the George Inn in the Borough being presented to the National Trust. In those years there was founded a very active and successful Reading Circle led by Mrs. Gwen Major. A film was made of Dickens London in which many of our members took part, and an application by the Fellowship to the L.C.C. to place a tablet on 13 Johnson Street. These two last items were not entirely successful as the film was very severely cut and the L.C.C. would not comply with our request, as two houses in London occupied by Dickens were already bearing tablets. Other activities included assistance given to a Dickens Fair in Holland; support given to the restoration of the Cloisters of Rochester Cathedral; consideration given to a suitable memorial to Dickens in Portsmouth Cathedral; and assistance afforded to Kings College Hospital by arrangements for a Charity Cricket Match with Percy Fender captaining "All Muggleton" and Patsey Hendren captaining the "Dingley Dellers"; and the raising of £100 for the endowment of a seat in the name of Charles Dickens in the proposed National Theatre.

Arrangements had been projected for a Centenary American Journey in 1942 to commemorate Dickens's first tour of America. For obvious reasons this trip never materialised. The last peacetime Conference to be held out of London for many years was in 1939 at Bath. During this Conference "The Friends of Dickens House" were constituted; the members promising to subscribe annual sums to a Fund for the maintenance of 48 Doughty Street. Previously, the cost of every repair which became necessary at the Dickens House, could only be met by appeals to members,

which they had very generously answered as, for instance, the wonderful response from Branches and members to Mr. Edwards's appeal in 1937 for funds for redecoration. The formation of the "Friends of Dickens House" was intended to provide a regular income for such purposes and the funds so provided did in fact, keep the House going throughout the war years when all income from visitors and from other sources ceased.

With the declaration of war the activities of the Fellowship had perforce to slacken. Dickens House in Doughty Street became Warden's Post No. 36 of the Borough of St. Pancras and our Assistant Secretary, Miss Minards, was appointed Post Warden. The Dickens Fellowship, however, decided to carry on as far as possible, although naturally many of its plans had to be curtailed as war conditions intensified.

At the end of 1939 the Fellowship suffered a great blow in the sudden death of its Hon. Secretary, Mr. S. J. Rust. Fortunately, someone who like his genial predecessor had the welfare of the Fellowship always at heart, was to hand in Mr. Leslie C. Staples. Mr. Staples had been a member for over twenty-five years, but had until then been unable to serve on the Executive Committee, although many times invited to do so, owing to his business activities. The Fellowship was fortunate, however, in finding one to take office so willingly at such a difficult time, and who steered it successfully through the war years. An Emergency Committee of the Chairman, Mrs. Gwen Major, and the three officers, Mr. Walter Dexter, Mr. T. W. Hill and Mr. Leslie C. Staples, and after Mr. Dexter's death, in 1944, Mrs. Jane Bacon, was appointed to transact the essential business of the Fellowship and was authorised to call a full Council should it become necessary.

The invitation to hold 1940 Conference in Eastbourne naturally had to be withdrawn and Conferences for the next eight years were held in London. These Conferences had perforce to be but shadows of the normal ones, being confined to business necessities with a lunch in place of the usual dinner, but sometimes not even that. On one occasion the Business Meeting was accompanied by the actual noise of aerial bombardment. Nevertheless, it was remarkable the wonderful support accorded by members who could attend and a debt of gratitude is owed to Mr. Leo Mason, of Blackburn, who served as Chairman of Council, and to Mr. Compton Mackenzie, who fulfilled the office of President during these years.

In spite of the difficulties of carrying on we find certain activities still being continued. Rambles continued in London for a time and in the summer of 1940 a visit to Hampstead was probably the first occasion upon which a Dickensian ramble had been spent partly in an air-raid shelter. The Fellowship's aim and object "to knit together lovers of Dickens in a common bond of friendship" was given added siguificance by the establishing of a Dickens Fellowship Knitting Group in 1940. In two years this industrious group of lady members had made and distributed over 500 woollen garments and comforts for the fighting services. A Cratchit Shelter Fund was launched by a generous donation of 100 guineas from Mrs. Beatrice Warde, daughter of Mrs.

Lamberton Becker, authoress of *Introducing Charles Dickens* and who has also served as President of our New York Branch. On the publication of that book a reception was held at Lant Street School, Southwark, to which members of the Dickens Fellowship were invited and at which the publishers presented a further 10 guineas to the Shelter Fund. This Fund was administered by the Fellowship.

It was reported at the 1942 Conference that the Dickens House was safe in spite of heavy damage on all sides in its neighbourhood. The generosity of the "Friends of Dickens House" in keeping it going so far now had to be taxed by a further appeal to meet the additional burden of War Damage Insurance.

A few branches were in a state of suspended animation, but most carried on—some by small meetings at members' houses. By 1942 many of those which had been quiescent since the beginning of the war had started up again as their members became accustomed to the new conditions. Two new branches were formed in U.S.A. Headquarters substituted afternoon meetings for the usual evening ones. Mention should be made of St. Pancras, a London Branch in one of the worst bombed districts in town, in spite of which it continued with its meetings and rambles. Thanks to a generous donation from Vancouver it was able to give a wonderful party to over 200 bombed-out St. Pancras children, besides distributing gifts and urgent necessities bought with donations from overseas. Funds and clothing were received in great quantities from overseas and distributed through Headquarters and various branches, and among other funds and institutions it was possible to help the Children's War Relief Fund of the Society of Friends, and two Homes for War-Distressed Children established at Bath. The projected American tour in 1942 to celebrate the Centenary of Dickens's visit to America had naturally to be abandoned, but the Centenary was signalised with an American number of *The Dickensian*. Unfortunately, rising costs necessitated an increase in the price of the magazine to 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1942 (1*s.* to members) which had to be increased still further the following year to 1*s.* 3*d.* to members.

The Fellowship's Fortieth Birthday in 1942 was celebrated by a modest meeting. Mr. A. W. Edwards spoke and was supported by two of his predecessors, with the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Staples, very fittingly in the Chair. This year, news came that Bannor, the Fellowship's Home for Blinded soldiers and Sailors had been bombed, two of its inmates killed and others, including the Matron, injured. In 1943, J. W. T. Ley died, aged 64, after a short illness. Secretary of the Fellowship in its early years and later Vice-President, he will ever be remembered for his many writings on Dickensian subjects and especially for his annotation of Forster's *Life of Dickens*.

Still in the throes of war-time conditions, the Fellowship suffered a great blow in 1944 by the sudden death of Walter Dexter. As a tribute to his memory the Walter Dexter Memorial Fund was established for the Endowment of 48 Doughty Street and to ensure that his name should be associated in perpetuity with the Dickens House, with which he was associated before its

acquisition and always, with unbroken devotion, until his death. A special Walter Dexter Memorial number of *The Dickensian* was published in September, 1944, in which many tributes were paid to his memory.

It had been Walter Dexter's wish that Mr. Staples should take over the Editorship of *The Dickensian* when he himself relinquished it. This additional task Mr. Staples willingly shouldered, in addition to the office of Hon. Secretary and the Fellowship will ever be in his debt for so unselfishly accepting the task during the difficulties of the time.

The Fifth Annual War Conference in London was held during the height of the flying bomb raids, and yet such is the enthusiasm of our members that the attendance only fell to two-thirds of our previous war-time Conference. It was reported at this Conference that Australasian Branches seemed to be recovering from the depression of days when Japanese threats came nearer to their shores. American Branches, on the other hand, were beginning to show signs of feeling the rigours of war. Through it all, however, we shall ever be grateful to our Canadian Branches for their continued assistance through the Fellowship to war-affected children. By this time the number of knitted garments made and distributed by the Headquarters Knitting Circle had risen to over 1,000, in addition to which many branches were doing similar work.

The Victory Conference—still on a smaller scale than normal Conferences—was held in London in 1945, when the Emergency Committee surrendered its powers to the Council and Executive Committee. One hundred and twenty-five members attended the Conference Luncheon and visited Rochester on the Monday. By 1946 plans were in hand for yet another London Conference and the reopening of the Dickens House. Strange to say, that although all London museums had closed during the war, and so far only one had reopened, there was little but criticism in the press because the Dickens House was still closed! This, despite the fact that our treasures had been carefully preserved out of London, and our property financially sound, thanks to the Friends of the Dickens House.

Now that the destruction had ended it was decided to make a review of all the places of interest connected with the life and works of Dickens, which had suffered in the war. From this most useful review carried out by the late Lt.-Col. W. M. H. Spiller, Mrs. Gwen Major and a small Committee, the most useful results were published in *The Dickensian*.

Mr. Henry Charles Dickens was elected President for 1946-8 to follow Mr. Compton Mackenzie, who had energetically served in that office during the war years. Mr. Staples had combined the two offices of Hon. Secretary to the Fellowship and Hon. Editor of *The Dickensian* since the death of Walter Dexter in 1944 and it was obvious, both to him and to his colleagues, that in peace time it would be undesirable, even if practicable, to continue the dual office. Mr. Percy Merriman was, therefore, appointed Hon. Secretary and Mr. Staples retained the Hon. Editorship of the magazine. Mr. Merriman, who had first joined the Fellowship in

1902 and who did some fine work with our Dramatic Section in 1905-6, the year of its inception, had been prevented from taking an active part for many years owing to other activities.

The Dickens House in Doughty Street was reopened by our President, Henry Charles Dickens, grandson of the novelist and some of its treasures televised a few days later. The beginning of the following year saw yet another change in the officers of the Fellowship. Mr. T. W. Hill, who claimed to be in his 81st year, felt that it was time for him to resign from the Hon. Treasurership and the Council was reluctantly obliged to accept his decision. Besides being Hon. Secretary for five strenuous years during the 1914-18 war, he had served as Treasurer since 1932 during anything but easy years. His work for *The Dickensian* during the twenty years of Walter Dexter's editorship and since, is something too well known to its readers to need emphasis here. He was succeeded in office by Mr. E. J. Mitchell, who for some years had rendered signal service to the Fellowship on financial matters, and who has pursued his predecessor's work for the Endowment Fund with great enthusiasm and vigour. As a result of the *première* of the film adaptation of *Great Expectations*, the Dickens House Endowment Fund benefited to the extent of £1,300.

The Fellowship now began to resume its customary activities. Great efforts were made for the preservation of Watts's Charity in Rochester for its original purpose, but unfortunately without success. It may, however, have been instrumental in ensuring that the building be kept open for inspection by visitors.

The year 1948 saw one more activity restored—a Branch Conference, starting with a highly successful and enjoyable gathering at Southend, and followed by others at Broadstairs, St. Annes-on-Sea, and Cheltenham. This year, too, saw yet another change in the officers of the Fellowship, when Mr. Percy Merriman was obliged to resign owing to the growing demands of professional activities upon his time, and I was appointed as his successor.

At that point I bring my survey to a close. This year we shall be celebrating the Fellowship's Jubilee and it is fitting that we be reminded of the many men and women who, over the past fifty years, have laboured so lovingly and so successfully to build up the world-wide Fellowship which is our pride and our joy.

GRAY'S INN

All lovers of London's Inns of Court, and where is the Dickensian who is not, rejoice in the restoration of the Hall of Gray's Inn. Its reopening has been marked by the publication of a new book* on the history of the inn, which is so inextricably bound up with the story of Dickens's life and work. It is delightfully told, including, of course, the Dickens associations, beautifully illustrated and most tastefully produced.

* *A Prospect of Gray's Inn*, by Francis Cowper, Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 30s.

A GUILDFORD LINK WITH CRUMMLES

By L. W. Bromley

MR. JAMES G. OLLE'S most interesting article in *The Dickensian* last June on where Crummles played, brought to mind a clue which once led me to investigate and write a story for a Guildford newspaper about that which I styled "The Market Street Mystery."

In *Nicholas Nickleby* the company of Mr. Crummles is mentioned as having played at Guildford. The theatre at which this celebrated company "fulfilled an engagement with the greatest applause" could only have been the old theatre in Market Street, Guildford's earliest playhouse. An old newspaper cutting says that this theatre was used for many years as a furniture store until "purchased by Mr. Williamson and pulled down."

Did this mean that the property had been demolished in its entirety, or was it possible that the building could have been pulled down, in effect, and yet have left one wall standing? The possibility of the latter was suggested by a journalistic colleague who, while exploring the regions at the rear of Market Street, found an old wall containing three tall, arched windows which—judging from a sketch in the late Dr. G. C. Williamson's *Guildford in the Olden Time*—closely corresponded with the windows of Guildford's oldest theatre.

That this wall could be a relic of the Guildford Theatre in which Crummles played now appeared possible. On the other side of the wall were business premises and in one of these a gentleman who knew the late Dr. Williamson assured us that our theatre had been in those quarters. By this time my colleague was rapidly warming to his subject, and recalled an article in which the author had mentioned the finding of an old wind-machine and some oddments of scenery in Guildford's forgotten theatre.

The next strange contribution to our Market Street mystery came from a 74-year-old Guildford resident who declared, "When I was a boy of about 12 years of age I remember looking through some gates approximately where Foster's shop (Market Street) now stands, and seeing pictures of a scenery type painted on the wall facing me . . . on returning from Holy Trinity School I and the other boys used to shout through the gates into the hollow space beyond to produce an echo."

The painted walls might provide a link with our theories, but—gates and hollow spaces? The mystery deepened. It was another elderly gentleman, for many years employed by Messrs. Williamson, who finally enlightened us. Our wall, he maintained, was that of the old vegetable market (known as the Green Market) which had at one time been attached to the theatre, and where people from the rural areas had brought their produce at week-ends. From this Green Market it is probable that the street derived its name. However, since the wall of the theatre was said to have been a continuation of that enclosing the market our research had not been entirely in vain. Among those who appeared, it is said, at this memorable theatre were Edmund Kean and Macready. But to Dickensians its most famous visitor will always be—Vincent Crummles.

THE BATTLE OF LIFE IN THE THEATRE

By Malcolm Morley

A MONTH before the publication of *The Battle of Life,* the fourth of the Christmas Stories by Charles Dickens, the novelist was paid £100 by the Keeley management for a copy of the proof-sheets and with the sale went his approval of the dramatisation to be made for the Lyceum Theatre by Albert Smith. As Dickens was to receive nothing in the nature of royalties for any play adapted from *The Battle of Life* it cannot be considered unfair that he should accept such payment. Here was his way, a very legitimate way, of securing something for the use made of his work; key money, as it were, for priority where no rent was chargeable. Other theatrical magnates paid nothing for adaptations of the story but they had to wait until it appeared in print before they could assess the stage possibilities and assign the task to an attendant playwright.

The success of *The Cricket on the Hearth* the previous year meant the theatres were all agog for the next story from Charles's pen, hoping that dramas manufactured from its text would again fill their coffers. Provincial playhouses, too, were anxious to provide new Dickens fare and were well poised for the attack the moment the tale came out. When *The Battle of Life* was eventually published on December 19th, 1846, a number of waiting managements hesitated. A stupid and prejudiced article in *The Theatrical Times* inveighed against the Dickens craze in the theatre and acclaimed *The Battle of Life* as commonplace, undramatic and devoid of interest. The sorry suggestion was offered that " If Mr. Dickens is to be dragged forth as a model writer for adapters to work on, why should he not do a play himself at once? " and the article continued " If his works are to be done for the stage, surely the managers might wait until they can judge if they are suited to be dramatised; not rush and make such a pig in the poke bargain as the present instance." The present instance had reference, of course, to the Keeley arrangement with Dickens. Throughout its pages *The Theatrical Times* is very anti-Keeley, hence the notes of disapproval.

However, certain theatres did refrain. The Adelphi, where every major work of Dickens had been placed on the boards, had no dramatisation; neither had the Strand, a playhouse that had seen stage treatment of most of his novels. In all, some seven theatres in London gave versions of *The Battle of Life,* as against the seventeen adaptations of *The Cricket on the Hearth* produced the year before. And, be it admitted, most of the seven could be set down as failures.

By virtue of having a first-hand knowledge of the closely-guarded proof-sheets, Albert Smith was able to be well in advance with his play, which was produced at the Lyceum on December 21st, 1846. This was only two days following the appearance in print of the story. The pattern provided by Dickens largely prepared the ground for a stage version, each of the three parts into which the text is divided being material for an act. As in the case of *The Cricket on the Hearth,* Charles had the theatre

in mind when he planned the tale. Act One is placed in the Orchard of the laughing philosopher, Dr. Jeddler, whose two daughters, Grace and Marion, are both in love with the leave-taking Alfred Heathfield. Act Two is concerned with the self-sacrifice of Marion who leaves home mysteriously, thereby resigning the young man to her sister. Act Three, six years later, shows Alfred and Grace happily married. Marion returns to the family fold and there are hints of a prospective partner for her in Michael Warden. The fully stressed sentiment is considerably relieved by the oddities of sour Ben Britain and the cheerful Clemency Newcombe.

Dickens was in Lausanne when rehearsals began. He hastened to London in time to supervise the final arrangements. His heart was in stage-management and had been since his productions in Montreal in 1842, if not before. Charles attended one of the late rehearsals at the Lyceum and was extremely critical of the players. In a letter to his wife, he complained that they were bad, that the business in the piece was behind and that the words had been confused in the copying—making nonsense. The morning of the production he read his story to the company for their more complete understanding of the piece. Better late than never it would seem. The Lyceum production easily proved the best of those given in the London theatres that Christmas.

ALBERT SMITH
Dickens House Collection

Charles, himself, was enthusiastic about Keeley and his wife as Britain and Clemency. The little supper scene between the two he admitted was quite perfect. Others in the play were Frank Matthews as Dr. Jeddler, Leigh Murray, as Heathfield, F. Vining as Warden, Ellen Daly as Grace and Miss May as Marion, all evidently included in his earlier condemnation.

Albert Smith, the favoured adapter of *The Battle of Life*, was one of the original *Punch* brigade. A versatile author, he ran the gamut of literary occupations: dramatist, novelist, editor and critic. As novelist Albert was responsible for *Christopher Tadpole*, *The Scattergood Family* and *The Adventures of Mr. Ledbury*: as editor he was connected with two lively publications, *Puck* and *The Man in the Moon*.

Neither last nor least, Smith figured as a public entertainer. His lecture *The Ascent of Mont Blanc* was certainly the most popular thing of its kind. The record has never been broken. For six years, with intermissions, *Mont Blanc* attracted the town to the Egyptian Hall. Surrounding the auditorium were a number of built-up Swiss Chalets from one of which, at the appointed time, the big and bearded Smith lumbered on to the platform where, in a happy and nonchalant manner, he proceeded to talk about his travels, the people he met by the way and how far he proceeded on the mountain. One of his items was a topical song, *Galignani's Messenger*. Passing events were introduced and the lines in the song changed nightly according to the happenings of the day. The one man entertainment contained a wealth of comic narrative anent the adventures, more often misadventures, of the lecturer abroad, the description being decidedly coloured by his easy and affable personality. Smith had a younger brother Arthur who was in charge of the *Mont Blanc* presentation and when Dickens began his series of public readings in 1858 he wisely engaged the latter to act as his manager. Until Arthur Smith's death, three years later, the care of the Readings was in his very efficient hands. Speaking of him some years afterwards, Charles said "He was always everywhere, his successor only somewhere."

Two weeks were to elapse from the date of the Lyceum production before other adaptations of *The Battle of Life* appeared in London and then, on the evening of Monday, January 4th, 1847, came three versions. All of these were prepared by leading actors established in their own domain of the minor theatres. There was the dramatisation of T. E. Lyon at the City of London with Mrs. R. Honner as Clemency; another by Thomas Archer at the Grecian and a third by Samuel Atkyns at the Albert Saloon. Each closely copied the Smith adaptation; no restraining law was in force to prevent an adapter from adapting the work of another adapter. A version, reduced to two acts, was played at the Bower Saloon on January 9th. So like was the piece to those that had gone before, that C. A. Somerset, the playwright providing the manuscript, deemed it necessary to state that the second scene of Act One was entirely his own work (from Dickens). Contrarywise, *The Battle of Life*, or, *The Heart of a Sister*, by George Dibden Pitt at the Britannia on January 11th, emerged as a drama with substantial alterations and additions to the plot as conceived by the novelist. Alfred Heathfield and Michael Warren fought a duel with pistols and, though neither was killed, Michael went through the years in the belief that he was responsible for his opponent's death. At home, Grace, when she learnt that her sister had vanished into the night, attempted suicide by drowning but fortuitously was rescued from "a watery grave." Marion returned to her family a stranger, unrecognised until she dramatically revealed her true identity. These supplemented incidents sought to adapt the Dickens story into the taste of Britannia audiences. The accustomed offerings at the theatre were the wildest melodramas. A favourite was *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, the author being Dibden Pitt himself. For over fifty years the Britannia was under the same

management and for over fifty years it may be said that this theatre in Hoxton was the most popular in the East End. Throughout that period it had its share of Dickens's dramatisations.

The inevitable adaptation by Edward Stirling limped into the dramatic field on January 18th, 1847, at the Surrey Theatre where it lasted for a bare week. The sisters Grace and Marion were played by Mrs. E. F. Saville and Mrs. Henry Vining; Ben Britain by H. Webb and Clemency by Eliza Terrey. The last mentioned, a bouncing soubrette, often had her name spelt without the second e. When down on the bill as Miss E. Terry, as occasionally happened, it has led chroniclers to some confusion with the early appearances of the great Ellen Terry herself.

A considerable number of *Battle of Life* plays originated in centres away from London. At the Queen's Theatre in Dublin, Harris, the stage manager, provided one on Boxing Day, 1846 (quick work indeed) and the same evening another was produced at the Theatre Royal, Manchester. The following month adaptations were staged in Hull, Liverpool, Newcastle and elsewhere. None of them endured for long; in fact, the version given at the Adelphi, Glasgow, on January 11th only lasted for a couple of nights. To the Rev. J. B. Marriage is assigned a one act adaptation played at the Theatre Royal, Norwich, on January 23rd. That playhouse was at the time under the management of Thomas Donald Davenport and in the company was his talented daughter, Jean. It has been stated, and restated, that the pair were the prototypes of Vincent Crummles and the Infant Phenomenon in *Nicholas Nickleby*. The connection has never been proved. It is a curious thought that glorious Vincent and his prodigy of a daughter should enact a drama from a story by Charles. He had taken from them in the past and now they in turn took from him.

Another interesting item relating to a provincial showing of *The Battle of Life* is in connection with T. W. Robertson the playwright who, in the years to come, was to influence the whole trend of British drama. In his youthful days he worked as an actor with his father and family on what was known as the Lincoln circuit. One of the towns served by the company was Boston and it was here, shortly after the book had been published, that young Robertson had an adaptation of the story produced. Perhaps it was his first piece to be given in a theatre. Fanny Robertson, a slightly younger sister, afterwards wrote of the occasion: "Tom was always clever with his pen and, as soon as he could write, he was at work at plays for us to act as children. Later on he wrote for the company. As soon as the book was published (he was seventeen years of age) he dramatised Charles Dickens's story *The Battle of Life* and two years later he produced a stage version of *The Haunted Man*. I remember our waiting very anxiously to get the earliest copies of these Christmas books, and how we at once went with them to the theatre, I acting as amanuensis and he walking about with the story in his hand and dictating to me. When the manuscript was finished it was taken home to be altered or approved by our father."

The early stage versions in London of the Christmas story had but short shrift and a long period passed before one was

seen again by metropolitan playgoers. On March 4th, 1867, *The Battle of Life* was given at Astley's, then under the management of that eccentric of eccentrics, William Henry Codrington Nation. No adapter was set down, though it is more than likely the play was manufactured from the script of Albert Smith by Nation himself. In the cast were W. H. Stevens as Dr. Jeddler, James Fernandez as Heathfield, Edward Atkins as Ben Britain and Ellen Thirwell as Clemency.

J. L. Toole played Ben, Lionel Brough was the Snitchey, and the lively Nelly Farren romped as Clemency at the Gaiety on December 26th, 1873, in a dramatisation by Charles Dickens the Younger, son of the novelist. This Charles, like his father, had a feeling for the theatre. He had been associated with the production of *No Thoroughfare* at the Adelphi and was to prepare an adaptation of *The Old Curiosity Shop* for the American actress, Lotta.

The last play on the subject in the West End proper was *Marion*, as the piece was called, at the Royalty on December 8th, 1898. The dramatisation was by Walter Ellis (author of the farce *A Little Bit of Fluff*) and Percy Greenwood, the latter assuming the part of Ben Britain. Sydney Crowe played the title rôle while in support were Victoria Wright as Grace, Ruby Hallier as Clemency and J. G. Taylor, a mannered and amusing actor, as Dr. Jeddler. *Marion* toured the provinces with much the same cast. Out of London may also be recorded an adaptation by the Dickens's disciple, E. Clarence Boielle, at the Oddfellows' Hall, Jersey, on January 3rd, 1911, and reference should be made to the published plays of J. Cooper Sands and John Wallace, both given in amateur performances.

The career of *The Battle of Life* on the stage in America has been negligible. The first production, an anonymous one, was at Peale's Museum, Philadelphia, on February 3rd, 1847. In New York a version produced at the famous Bowery Theatre on February 10th of the same year, with Hadaway as Ben and Mrs. Booth as Clemency, registered two performances and was heard no more. Since then *The Battle* seems to be over in the United States.

In other countries Dickens's story found its way to the stage. On the Continent *La Bataille de la Vie* by Melosville and André de Goy was given (with songs) at the Vaudeville, Paris, on September 3rd, 1853; and there is mention of another French translation produced in the French capital the same year. A Russian version of the drama was played some time, somewhere, in Moscow, particulars of which are not easily accessible.

The title of *The Battle of Life*, despite its association with Dickens was used for dramatic works having nothing whatsoever to do with his story. It was bestowed upon a version of D'Ennery and Marc Fourneir's *Belphegor* at the Standard in London on May 22nd, 1893, and again the name was applied when a play by A. W. Parry and Thomas Dobb was produced at the Adelphi, Liverpool, on August 6th, 1894. Some years later a tabloid drama by J. Wright Aitken touring the Music Halls bore the label of *The Battle of Life*—but it had nothing to do with Dickens. Two plays with the name were given copyright performances; one by

Alan Grey at the Bijou, Bayswater (now the Twentieth Century) on March 30th, 1901; and the other by Guy C. Livesey and G. H. Turner at the West London on June 17th, 1904. These copyright performances were perfunctory affairs; rituals to establish the ownership of the play. Actors read, or gabbled, the parts in a licensed building after permission had been granted by the Censor for public performance and the piece duly advertised in print. The only other requirement was the payment at the doors of one guinea, thereby establishing the fact that admission had been charged and an audience admitted. This detail was easily managed. The money was paid into the Box Office by arrangement with a friendly visitor and, as likely as not, returned to him after the reading. A guinea was not without value in those days.

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF DICKENS IN 1908

The following extracts are taken from John Graham Brooks's book *As Others See Us, a Study of Progress in the United States*, published in New York in 1908 and give a fair impression of the average American opinion of Dickens forty years ago.

"Returning home, I at once reread Dickens's *American Notes* and the parts of *Martin Chuzzlewit* which refer to the United States. I had forgotten the lively resentment roused by their first reading. What had happened that thirty years later the smart of his grossest caricatures had utterly disappeared? It was partly because one recognized so much truth in the picture. There were characteristics in our public and private life which richly deserved the kind of punishment which this great humorist administered. It is now plain history that we had many a promoter's scheme which the bunco-game of land sales in *Martin Chuzzlewit* scarcely exaggerates. Philadelphians wanted to put Dickens in a cell for telling such lies about their model prison. We now know that he told the truth; that he did a public service in calling attention to the essential barbarity of that boasted prison method. When he wrote 'those benevolent gentlemen who carry it into execution, do not know what they are doing,' he was both seer and prophet. We all learned, too, that Dickens, like Matthew Arnold, was impartial. He was as pitiless in his caricature of evils in England as of those in the United States. Twenty-five years later (1868), he came again to this country, noting the 'gigantic changes'—changes in the graces and amenities of life, changes in the Press, etc., to which he adds, 'I have been received with unsurpassable politeness, delicacy, sweet temper, hospitality, consideration.' The sting has gone from his gibes because we are far enough away to measure both the critic and the objects criticised.

"Thomas Brothers wrote, 'I believe there to be in the United States more taxation, poverty, and general oppression than ever known in any other country.' Three years later Dickens wrote, 'That republic but yesterday let loose upon her noble course, and to-day so maimed and lame, so full of sores and ulcers, that her best friends turn from the loathsome creature in disgust.'"

"Dickens had a great weakness for playing the dandy in his dress. He was much bejewelled and we have only to picture him, with his buttonhole bouquet, walking about in a town of the Mississippi Valley in 1842. Every ultra effect of his person was bound to create among those rustics all manner of 'impertinent curiosities.' The gods could not have protected him. When, on his second trip, he said nothing would induce him to write another book, we see that he had learned something."

"Two college girls from New England lived a year in Spain. One of them says: 'When I came home, at least one-half of my own friends spoke so that I wanted to put my hands to my ears. Yet I had never for an instant noticed this, until I had been surrounded by people for some months whose voice was a positive pleasure to the ear.' This illustrates one precious lesson our critics have helped to teach us. We were 'taking it in' even when we were hotly abusing our instructors. Dickens's brilliant caricature left its lesson for improved prison methods and for better manners." L.B.F.

JOURNALISTICS

By T. KENT BRUMLEIGH

I

THERE is nothing original in this article. It is merely an effort to present in co-ordinated form for easy reference the work of others who have dealt with those journalistic writings of Dickens of which he openly acknowledged the authorship.*

There are three collections of these short essays: *Sketches by Boz*, *Reprinted Pieces*, and *The Uncommercial Traveller*. They were written in circumstances different from those which gave rise to the long novels, and they deal largely with actual fact as opposed to pure fiction. A proper appreciation of these short papers is indeed essential to a thorough understanding and enjoyment of the panorama displayed in the long novels.

Sketches by Boz were written anonymously, as the pseudonym "Boz" did not reveal the author, and the secret was kept till *Pickwick*, "edited by Boz," was well in its second year. *Reprinted Pieces* were originally anonymous (as were all contributions to *Household Words*) and their author's name did not appear until they were collected into a volume. But the *Uncommercial Traveller* was avowedly by Dickens from the start, and the Introductory Address: "His General Line of Business," was an intimate personal approach to his readers.

II

Sketches by Boz is the general title for a collection of Dickens's earliest writings—short articles on the contemporary life of his period—contributed to periodicals during 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836, when his first major work, *The Pickwick Papers*, began to appear in monthly parts. A few Sketches only were written after *Pickwick* started.

For most of the details that follow I am indebted to F. G. Kitton's "Minor Writings of Charles Dickens" (1900), Walter Dexter's "Letters to his Oldest Friend" (1932), Dexter and Ley's "Origin of Pickwick" (1936), and Dexter's article "The Genesis of *Sketches by Boz*" in the *Dickensian* (1934).

The earliest Sketches to be written appeared in:

A.—The Monthly Magazine.

1833.	Dec.	A Dinner at Poplar Walk.
1834.	Jan.	Mrs. Joseph Porter "over the way."
	Feb.	Horatio Sparkins.
	Apl.	The Bloomsbury Christening.
	May	The Boarding House.
		[All the above were unsigned]
	Aug.	The Boarding House, No. II.
		[This was the first article signed "Boz"]
	Oct.	The Steam Excursion.
1835.	Jan.	A Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle, Chapter the First.
	Feb.	A Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle, Chapter the Second.

All these articles were tales with definite plots; they are the germs of Dickens's gifts of narrative and character delineation. For them he received no remuneration, so the series stopped.

* *Pictures from Italy* is omitted from consideration as it is a unified theme and was originally written in descriptive form in a series of letters to Forster in 1844-45 specially with a view to publication; they appeared in the *Daily News* in January-March 1846 under the heading "Travelling Letters written on the Road" and were published in book form immediately on completion.

During 1834 Dickens had been appointed a reporter on the staff of the Morning Chronicle at a salary of £5 5s. a week, and for that journal he wrote, presumably without further payment, a few "Street Sketches" the earliest use of the title to be later familiar. They were all signed Boz:

B.—Morning Chronicle.

1834.	Sept.	26	Omnibuses.
	Oct.	10	Shops and their tenants.
		23	The Old Bailey.
	Nov.	5	Shabby Genteel.

In 1835 the Morning Chronicle established an evening edition and in consideration that his salary should be raised to £7 7s. a week Dickens undertook to contribute a series of "Sketches of London for the Evening Chronicle, by Boz." These began in the first issue of the new paper and continued thereafter about once a fortnight:

C.—Evening Chronicle.

1835.	Jan.	31	Hackney-Coach Stands.
	Feb.	7	Gin-shops.
		19	Early Coaches.
		28	The Parish.
	Mar.	7	The "House."
		17	London Recreations.
	April	7	Public Dinners.
		11	Bellamy's.
		16	Greenwich Fair.
		23	Thoughts about People.
	May	9	Astley's.
		19	Our Parish.
	June	6	The River.
		18	Our Parish.
		30	The Pawnbroker's Shop.
	July	14	Our Parish.
		21	The Streets—Morning.
		28	Our Parish—Mr. Bung's Narrative.
	Aug.	11	Private Theatres.
		20	Our Parish.

Then the series stopped, for some reason not yet revealed, for a whole year, but during the interval Dickens sent short articles to other periodicals. Under the name of "Tibbs," which he apparently borrowed from his former tale "The Boarding House," he contributed a number of "Scenes and Characters" to

D.—Bell's Life in London.

1835.	Sept.	27	Seven Dials.
	Oct.	4	Miss Evans and "The Eagle."
		11	The Dancing Academy.
		18	Making a Night of It.
		25	Love and Oysters.
	Nov.	1	Some Account of an Omnibus Cad.
		22	The Vocal Dress-maker.
		29	The Prisoners' Van.
	Dec.	13	The Parlour.
		27	Christmas Festivities.
1836.	Jan.	3	The New Year.
		18	The Streets at Night.

The last three of these articles were also printed in "The Observer" which was owned by the same proprietor as "Bell's Life."

Chapman and Hall were just then launching a new venture, "The Library of Fiction," and its editor, Charles Whitehead, had secured from Dickens two short articles, the first of which appeared in the

first number issued by a coincidence on the same day as the first number of *Pickwick*. [It was due to Whitehead's influence that Dickens was invited by Chapman and Hall to collaborate with Seymour for the *Pickwick Papers*, but that story is not to our present purpose.]

E.—Library of Fiction.

1836.	Mar.	31	The Tuggses at Ramsgate (illustrated by Robert Seymour).
	May	30	A little Talk about Spring and the Sweeps (illustrated by R. W. Buss).

Dickens then became too much occupied writing the opening chapters of the new book to continue the Sketches, and it was not till he was well " in his stride " with *Pickwick* that he could find time and opportunity to write a few more, and even so only in the autumn of 1836. These few " Sketches by Boz, New Series " appeared in both the Morning and Evening Editions of the Chronicle.

F.—Morning Chronicle and Evening Chronicle.

1836.	Sept.	24	Meditations in Monmouth Street.
	Oct.	4	Scotland Yard.
		11	Doctors' Commons.
		26	Vauxhall Gardens by Day.

About the same time he also wrote for the " Carlton Chronicle of Politics Literature Science and Art " two Sketches :

G.—Carlton Chronicle.

1836.	Aug.	6	The Hospital Patient.
	Sept.	17	Hackney Cabs and their Drivers.

whilst two from the Morning Chronicle were reproduced :

	Oct.	8	Scotland Yard.
		15	Doctors' Commons.

And those were the last of the serialised Sketches.

III

It is necessary now to go back in time to February, 1836, that is just before the commencement of the publication of *Pickwick*, when a selection of the Sketches was issued in two volumes at £1 1s. with illustrations by George Cruikshank. One cannot help the feeling that in all probability Dickens had not regarded these early productions of his pen as anything more than fugitive and ephemeral, and only as a means of gaining a footing however slight on the ladder that leads to authorship, and that, had it not been for the encouragement of his friend, Harrison Ainsworth, and the enterprise of a young publisher, Macrone, we might have lost all trace of them. But as the notion of publishing a Selection gathered strength, one finds from Dickens's letters to Macrone that he begins to appreciate that they may have sufficient merit for permanent preservation, although he does not place a very high value on them as he is content to receive but £150 from Macrone on publication.

As soon as publication was decided upon Dickens suggested for a title " Sketches by Boz and Cuts by Cruikshank " or else " Etches by Boz and Woodcuts by Cruikshank," but this was amended and the title we know became the first of Dickens's contributions to English literature, " Sketches by Boz : illustrative of Everyday Life and Everyday People." Dickens procured copies from the Chronicle of his selected articles, and also undertook to supply four additional sketches to fill out the two volumes, and these are indicated by an asterisk in the following table of contents :

Vol. I.

The Parish : 6 chapters.
Miss Evans and " The Eagle."
Shops and their Tenants.
Thoughts about People.
*A Visit to Newgate [Old Bailey].
London Recreations.
The Boarding House (2 chapters).
Hackney-Coach Stands.
Brokers' and Marine-Store Shops.
The Bloomsbury Christening.
Gin-shops.
Public Dinners.
Astley's.
Greenwich Fair.
The Prisoners' Van.
A Christmas Dinner [Christmas Festivities].

Vol. II.

Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle : 2 chapters
*The Black Veil.
Shabby-genteel People.
Horatio Sparkins.
The Pawnbroker's Shop.
The Dancing Academy.
Early Coaches.
The River.
Private Theatres.
*The Great Winglebury Duel.
Omnibuses.
Mrs. Joseph Porter.
The Steam Excursion.
*Sentiment.

There is in that list no attempt at classification, tales, scenes, and descriptive essays being all mixed together. It will be noted also that although Dickens had written four new sketches he had not included " A Dinner at Poplar Walk," which one might have supposed would be a special favourite with him, " The ' House,' " " Bellamy's," " The Streets—Morning," " Seven Dials," " Making a Night of It," " Love and Oysters," " The Vocal Dress-maker," " The Parlour," " The New Year," and " The Streets at Night." The last-named two appeared in the Morning Chronicle in January, 1836, so in any case they were too late for inclusion in a volume published in February.

The success of this first edition was immediate and a second edition was printed in August, and a third and a fourth in the following year, 1837. In the same year also a further series was printed comprising all those so far not reprinted from the Monthly Magazine, Bell's Life in London, The Library of Fiction, the Carlton Chronicle, and the Evening Chronicle, with the sole exception of " The Tuggses at Ramsgate " ; there were again three new Sketches (marked by an asterisk) to make up the single volume which appeared as :

Sketches by Boz : Second Series.

The Streets by Morning.
The Streets by Night.
Making a Night of It.
*Criminal Courts.
Scotland Yard.
The New Year.
Meditations in Monmouth Street.
*Our Next-door Neighbours.
The Hospital Patient.
Seven Dials.
The Mistaken Milliner [The Vocal Dress-maker].
Doctors' Commons.
The Misplaced Attachment of Mr. John Dounce [Love and Oysters].
Vauxhall Gardens by Day.
A Parliamentary Sketch with a few Portraits [Two sketches combined The " House " and Bellamy's].
Mr. Minns and his Cousin [A Dinner at Poplar Walk].
The last Cab-driver and the First Omnibus Cad [Two sketches combined in inverted order of writing and with a few amendments : Some Account of an Omnibus Cad, and Hackney Cabs and their Drivers].
The Parlour Orator [The Parlour].
The First of May [A little Talk about Spring and the Sweeps].
*The Drunkard's Death.

All the Sketches but one having now been collected and Dickens's copyright in them having been purchased from him in June, 1837, by Macrone for £250, the publisher desired to re-issue them " in monthly parts of nearly the same size and in just the same form as the *Pickwick Papers* " (see Dickens's Letters). Dickens felt hurt so he got Chapman and Hall to buy the copyright from Macrone for £2,250.* Chapman and Hall then advertised in Part XVIII of *Pickwick* the first " complete edition " to be completed in twenty monthly numbers with a delightful pink wrapper designed by Cruikshank, from November, 1837 to June, 1839. For this edition Dickens rearranged and classified the whole of the Sketches and included, at last, " The Tuggses at Ramsgate."

The Table of Contents then assumed the form we know so well :

Seven Sketches from Our Parish [the additional chapter being " Our Next-door Neighbour "—in the singular].
Scenes [twenty-five].
Characters [twelve].
Tales [twelve].

Finally, when the monthly issue came to an end the whole Complete Edition was published in one volume at a guinea.

IV

In contrast to the *Sketches by Boz*, which was a complete collection of fugitive papers from a variety of periodicals, *Reprinted Pieces* is a rather haphazard selection from Dickens's contributions to one magazine. There are only thirty-one, chosen from more than eighty, and the selection seems to have come about in this way. *Household Words* was established in 1850, and everything in its pages was anonymous ; not even pseudonyms were used. Readers therefore could not tell, although they knew the magazine was " Conducted by Charles Dickens " which articles were written by him and which by other hands. Moreover all contributions were so thoroughly " edited " and often partly re-written by the editor, and it was the pride of his staff to emulate their Chief's style, and furthermore many of the articles were of joint-authorship with Dickens, that identification of his individual work was difficult to the utmost degree.† However, when the selection for publication was made, the authorship of this limited number was proclaimed.

In 1857 Dickens decided to issue a Library Edition of his works so far written and the volumes began to appear monthly. Each of the long novels occupied two volumes, but the *Old Curiosity Shop* was not long enough to fill two volumes and too long for one volume, so, to fill out the second volume and make it uniform with the rest, it seems probable that Dickens " reprinted " a selection of his own articles that had appeared in *Household Words* during the years 1850 to 1856. They were apparently chosen more or less at random and not in chronological order. Matz is of the opinion that the choice of thirty-one for reproduction is not an indication that these were the only articles he desired to acknowledge and preserve, but that he chose only a sufficient number to make up a volume uniform in size with the rest. This seems to be borne out by the fact that after his death, in subsequent collected editions of his works the publishers included the *Reprinted Pieces* with one of the shorter books such as

* The complete story is too long for this paper, but it may be recalled that whereas Dickens had received £400 in all for the Sketches, Macrone had made about £4,000 and a further £2,250 for the sale of the copyright to Chapman and Hall. Yet owing to unwise investments his widow and children were left unprovided for when he died in September, 1837. Dickens raised for their benefit about £300 by editing *Pic-Nic-Papers*.

† In later years it became possible to identify all of these anonymous articles, but that story does not belong to this theme, and readers must go for the full story to B. W. Matz's Introduction to the Miscellaneous Papers which he prepared for publication in 1908.

Hard Times, Edwin Drood or *American Notes.* In only one edition (the Cabinet) does the collection get a volume to itself.

The list that follows gives the thirty-one articles with their original date and source:

1.	The Long Voyage	31. xii.	53
2.	The Begging-Letter Writer	18. v.	50
3.	The Child's Dream of a Star	6. iv.	50
4.	Our English Watering Place	2. viii.	51
5.	Our French Watering Place	4. xi.	54
6.	Bill-sticking	22. iii.	51
7.	Births "Mrs. Meek, of a Son"	22. ii.	51
8.	Lying Awake	30. x.	52
9.	The Poor Relation's Story [Extra Xmas Number]	Xmas	52
10.	The Child's Story	,,	,,
11.	The School-boy's Story [Extra Xmas Number]	,,	53
12.	Nobody's Story	,,	,,
13.	The Ghost of Art	20. vii.	50
14.	Out of Town	29. ix.	55
15.	Out of the Season	28. vi.	56
16.	A Poor Man's Tale of a Patent	19. x.	50
17.	The Noble Savage	11. vi.	53
18.	A Flight	30. viii.	51
19.	The Detective Police [A Detective Police Party, 2 portions.]	27. vii. 10. viii.	50 50
20.	Three "Detective" Anecdotes	14. ix.	50
21.	On Duty with Inspector Field	14. vi.	51
22.	Down with the Tide	5. ii.	53
23.	A Walk in a Workhouse	25. v.	50
24.	Prince Bull: a Fairy Tale	17. ii.	55
25.	A Plated Article	24. iv.	52
26.	Our Honourable Friend	31. vii.	52
27.	Our School	11. x.	51
28.	Our Vestry	28. viii.	52
29.	Our Bore	9. x.	52
30.	A Monument of French Folly	8. iii.	51
31.	A Christmas Tree ... ... [Xmas Number]	21. xii.	50

It will be noticed that there is a rough kind of classification; police sketches are grouped together, the two watering-places are complementary, two "Out of" sketches follow one pattern, and so on.

V

In considering *The Uncommercial Traveller* it will be desirable to bear in mind that in 1847 Dickens had confided to Forster—a confidence that his "trusty friend" never betrayed—the story of his early life; that in 1846 he had written to Forster: "Shall I leave you my life in MS. when I die?"; and that in 1848 he had expressed the direct wish that Forster should be his biographer after his death. That "life in MS." he never produced, but he did find an outlet for his autobiographical thoughts in his two periodicals *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*; their columns gave him the opportunity of being on confidential terms with his readers, of recalling past days as well as current experiences. In a sense *The Uncommercial Traveller* in particular afforded him the means of publishing some of the material for an autobiography he never wrote; there was no question of anonymity as there was in *Household Words*. He was the avowed author, and during their production he was not engaged on any long novel, besides which he had plenty to do in the nursing of the newly-launched magazine. Forster was able from his personal experience to substantiate many of the incidents Dickens related in his articles, and also confesses that "many of them have supplied traits chiefly of his younger days to portions of this memoir"; the adds: "nor should

the curious about his habits and ways omit to accompany him" through the articles.

The papers appeared under the general heading, "The Uncommercial Traveller," without chapter numbers or other distinctive titles, but in the index to *All the Year Round* there were sub-headings indicating the subject dealt with in the respective articles. They appeared at approximately fortnightly intervals until October 13th, 1860, when Dickens decided to collect them in one volume. In that book, which was published in December, 1860, the index sub-headings were dropped and each numbered chapter received the title by which it has since been known:

1860.	Jan.	28	I.	His General Line of Business.
			II.	The Shipwreck.
	Feb.	18	III.	Wapping Workhouse.
		25	IV.	Two Views of a Cheap Theatre.
	Mar.	10	V.	Poor Mercantile Jack.
		24	VI.	Refreshments for Travellers.
	April	7	VII.	Travelling Abroad.
		21	VIII.	The Great Tasmania's Cargo.
	May	5	IX.	City of London Churches.
		26	X.	Shy Neighbourhoods.
	June	16	XI.	Tramps.
		30	XII.	Dullborough Town.
	July	21	XIII.	Night Walks.
	Aug.	18	XIV.	Chambers.
	Sept.	8	XV.	Nurse's Stories.
		29	XVI.	Arcadian London.
	Oct.	13	XVII.	The Italian Prisoner.

A preface was added in which Dickens expressed the "intention to take the road again before the winter sets in," but the intention was not fulfilled as the series was not resumed for two and a half years.

During the interval *Great Expectations* was written as a serial from December, 1860, to August, 1861; Dickens undertook extensive Public Reading Tours in England and visited Paris to Read at the Embassy there; took immense pains during each autumn in the preparation of his Christmas Numbers, "Tom Tiddler's Ground" in 1861 and "Somebody's Luggage" in 1862; continued to give unremitting attention to his editorial duties; besides interesting himself deeply in many works of charity by presiding at meetings and making speeches requiring thoughtful preparation.

The Uncommercial Traveller started off again in May, 1863, under the old general heading, again without chapter numbers or titles, and again the index provided sub-headings of the subjects treated, but differing from the titles finally chosen. Again the articles appeared approximately once a fortnight until October 24th, and again the series stopped.

Dickens became busy with a new long novel, *Our Mutual Friend*, which appeared in monthly numbers through 1864 and 1865. There were two Reading Tours in 1866 and 1867, and the Second Visit to America in 1867-68. On October 10th, 1868, he wrote a paper called "The Ruffian, by the Uncommercial Traveller," and in December came to the decision that the time had come to bring to an end the existing form of *All the Year Round*, and to start a New Series with improved type, paper, size of page, etc., and to drop the Extra Christmas Numbers as he thought they had outlived their popularity.

He collected the Uncommercial papers written in 1863, added them to the former seventeen papers and published in December a new edition; the additional chapters were:

1863.	May	2	XVIII.	The Calais Night Mail.
		16	XIX.	Some Recollections of Mortality.

1863.	June	6	XX.	Birthday Celebrations.
		20	XXI.	The Short-timers.
	July	4	XXII.	Bound for the Great Salt Lake.
		18	XXIII.	The City of the Absent.
	Aug.	1	XXIV.	An old Stage-coaching House.
		15	XXV.	The Boiled Beef of New England.
		29	XXVI.	Chatham Dockyard.
	Sept.	12	XXVII.	In the French-Flemish Country.
		26	XXVIII.	Medicine Men of Civilisation.
	Oct.	24	XXIX.	Titbull's Almshouses.

The Ruffian (1868) was not included as it was written probably while the new volume was in process of publication.

For the New Series of *All the Year Round* Dickens projected a succession of "New Uncommercial Samples" and the first of these appeared in the first number, followed by others at intervals. Each was headed "New Uncommercial Samples, by Charles Dickens," followed by the title as shewn here:

1868.	Dec.	12	Aboard Ship.
		19	A Small Star in the East.
1869.	Jan.	2	A Little Dinner in an Hour.
		16	Mr. Barlow.
	Feb.	27	On an Amateur Beat.
	May	22	A Fly-leaf in a Life.
	June	5	A Plea for Total Abstinence.

and then the articles came really to an end.

It was not till after Dickens's death that Chapman and Hall issued the "Illustrated Library Edition" of Dickens's works in 1875, and in that edition included in one volume the whole of the Uncommercial papers complete, including "The Ruffian" that had been omitted from the 1868 edition.

I cannot close without a grateful acknowledgment of the generous assistance of the Editor in the compilation of the foregoing details.

THACKERAY'S DAUGHTER

From the delicately charming writings of Anne Thackeray Ritchie, two of her kinswomen have compiled a delightful book.* It is doubtful whether her once popular novels are frequently read to-day, but her essays, memoirs, and letters, have a charm that will find readers as long as the halcyon days of Victoria retain any attraction. Lady Ritchie inherited much from her famous father, but hers was a personality in its own right, a personality such as were more frequently to be met with in those gracious days than in these: her life-long friend, Kate Perugini was another. Her wisdom and wit, never divorced from grace and kindly sympathy, informed every line she wrote and the new book will find her many new devotees, for the works from which it was culled have been out of print for many years. Here again is that description of a visit to one of Dickens's Readings, one of the most delightful that has come down to us, and the less familiar account of her attendance at one of the children's parties that Dickens delighted to give. In this, memories of childhood are evoked with the lightest and most unerring touch. A little jewel of a book.—L.C.S.

* "Thackeray's Daughter," by Hester Thackeray Fuller and Violet Hammersley, Euphorion Books, Dublin. 12*s.* 6*d.*

NOTES ON *Sketches by Boz*

By T. W. Hill

Continued from page 37

X—A Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle (*cont.*)

14. CHARITY WILL COVER A MULTITUDE OF SINS. Taken from the First Epistle General of St. Peter, iv, 8: "And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves; for charity shall cover the multitude of sins." (Authorised Version).

15. SENDING THEM RUFFLES WHEN WANTING A SHIRT. A quotation from *The Haunch of Venison* by Oliver Goldsmith (1776). The full passage reads:

> "But hang it—the poets who seldom can eat
> Your very good mutton's a very good treat;
> Such dainties to them their health it might hurt,
> It's like sending them ruffles, when wanting a shirt."

16. SOME MUTUAL FRIENDS. The use of mutual instead of common was very usual colloquially and Dickens used it all his life. It appears in the title of *Our Mutual Friend* but when the book was translated into French it became *L'ami commun*.

17. BEULAH SPA. (See Scenes V.)

18. PETERSHAM GREAT-COAT. A heavy overcoat named after Viscount Petersham who, by wearing it, set the fashion in sporting circles about 1810 or 1812.

19. PAINTED TOPS. (See Tales VIII, note 11.)

20. LOCK UP HOUSE. A spunging-house; this is confirmed a few sentences further on to be in Cursitor Street, Chancery Lane. In *Bleak House* Dickens placed Coavinses with its backyard towards Cursitor Street so perhaps the present Lock-up house is the same premises although the officer in the latter case is Mr. Solomon Jacob. When a debtor was arrested by the sheriff's officer he was taken to a spunging-house (generally kept by himself) in the hope that the debtor's friends would settle the debt and so avoid the necessity of taking him to prison. The sheriff's officer generally made a good thing out of his charges (see note 29 below). In *Pickwick Papers* there is another picture of the class of individuals who got themselves into trouble for debt in chapter XL and the similarity of that account with this is remarkable.

21. KNOWS WHAT'S O'CLOCK. Originally a slang expression for shrewdness this phrase has become accepted as a facetious way of knowing the real state of affairs. To know the time o'day is obviously a variant. See Characters VIII, Note 11.

22. POLICEMEN RUSH ABOUT. A typical and well described "traffic jam" of the period. Matters are a little better regulated now; motor vehicles are more easily controlled than frightened and restive horses, and policemen do not rush about; but the traffic jams continue.

23. BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE. This was of course the most direct route from Norwood to Cursitor Street.

24. TWO-PRONGED FORK. This is unknown nowadays except for carving, and, as is well-known, forks were unheard of until Queen Elizabeth's day. "Only at the close of the seventeenth century do the number of forks in inventories begin to approximate to that of the spoons . . . the number of the prongs varied without any apparent reason. Three-pronged folks were in general use until the second half of the eighteenth century, when they were gradually superseded by those with four prongs . . . Two-pronged forks were still being made at York in 1784 and at Newcastle in 1801 . . . During the eighteenth century steel prongs were introduced with handles of thinly-stamped silver filled with resinous composition; they have usually two or three prongs and a rounded handle" (Oman, *English Domestic Silver*, 1934). Within living memory two-pronged forks with bone handles coloured green or black were used in Servants' Halls.

25. A-GOING OVER THE WATER TONIGHT. That is across the river to one of the debtors' prisons in Southwark.

26. MADE MY LUCKY. Slang for decamp while favoured by chance. Sam Weller used the phrase of Jingle who got away with his cheque from the

White Hart after his elopement with Rachel: "wot's the use o' runnin' arter a man as has made his lucky and got to t'other end of the Borough by this time?" (*Pickwick Papers*, chapter X).

27. RAISED THE WIND. This term for obtaining money—the needful—is probably nautical in origin; in the days of sailing ships wind was what the sailor wanted most. Its figurative use is more than six hundred years old.

28. TWO MOULD CANDLES. Candles made by pouring wax into a mould and not by dipping the wick. They were dearer than dips (which were a farthing each) as moulded candles were made with wax and dips were usually of tallow.

29. WHY, KATE. Is it a mere coincidence or did Dickens get this name from his sweetheart Catherine Hogarth to whom he had very recently been introduced. It is the only time the name is used in the Sketches.

30. £37 3*s*. 10*d*. Tottle's debt was only £33 10*s*. 4*d*. so he had accumulated expenses of £3 13*s*. 6*d*. for the enterprising Mr. Solomon Jacob for a few hours' stay in the spunging-house. (See note 20 above.)

31. TAKE OFF THE COVERS. There were present only four people, and what a spread: fowls, tongue, veal, rabbit; followed by a pie and a pudding; the carving of the joints, etc., took place at the table, a custom that long survived service *à la Russe* that was introduced by Lady Mary Montagu in the eighteenth century.

32. MAKING A WATCH-GUARD WITH BROWN SILK. A harmless accomplishment; the implements required were an empty cotton-reel, the hole in which was surrounded by pins, and a knitting needle.

33. FOLDED LIKE A FANCY COCKED-HAT. A cocked-hat in the seventeenth century was three-cornered, the brim being permanently turned up; later the term applied to the triangular hat turned up at the sides only and worn "fore and aft." It was of course Miss Littleton's little pink note that was "fancy" and not the cocked-hat.

34. PORTRAIT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. A fitting embellishment for a curate's parlour, even if it were oyster-sauce coloured.

XI—The Bloomsbury Christening
(*Monthly Magazine*, April, 1834)

[The contrivances and expedients of a party given in confined quarters were a constant source of amusement to Dickens, and he recalls them in his later work in *Pickwick Papers*, *A Christmas Carol*, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, *The Battle of Life*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, and *Bleak House*, but nowhere more divertingly than here. A few months after its appearance he wrote in a semi-humorous vein to the Editor of the *Monthly Magazine* to protest against an adaptation of the story under the title *The Christening*, made by J. H. Buckstone for production at the Adelphi Theatre].

1. PENTONVILLE. One of the earliest of the inner suburbs to be built as London began to spread in earnest. It gets its name from Henry Penton, M.P., whose estate was "developed" as a residential area about 1773. In *Little Dorrit* Dickens finds a home here for Mr. Rugg, general agent and accountant.

2. MEMORY OF HOYLE. Edmund Hoyle (1672-1769) a professional teacher of whist. He published in 1742 the authorative guide *Short Treatise on Whist* which reached its 15th edition the year after his death. He also produced manuals on Backgammon (1743), Piquet (1744), Quadrille (1745), Brag (1751), and a *Guide to Chess* (1761). Hoyle seems to have led a very uneventful life and little is known of him.

3. RENDERED MISERABLE. Not by any means the only occasion on which Dickens protested against the "fire and brimstone" doctrines of the sectarians of the nineteenth century.

4. MERCIFUL DISPENSATION OF PROVIDENCE. A common saying that has been traced back to Chaucer who in *Boethius* (1374) wrote: "the wyse dispensacioun of god sparith hym," and was therefore probably known before that. It has often appeared in literature since, and a good instance is one from Scott: "a humbling dispensation of Providence on the house of Peveril" (*Peveril of the Peak*, chapter XXIX). Tony Weller called it "a reg'lation of natur', a dispensary" (*Pickwick Papers*, chapter LII).

5. GREAT RUSSELL SQUARE, BEDFORD SQUARE. Another hit at small snobbery; note the adjective "dreadful" allotted to Tottenham Court Road. In *Nicholas Nickleby* there is another: Mrs. Wititterly lived in

Cadogan Place which "is in Sloane Street but not of it. The people in Cadogan Place look down on Sloane Street and think Brompton low."

6. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, HART STREET. Commonly known as St. George's, Bloomsbury. It was built in 1730; the steeple is surmounted by a statue of King George I, paid for by a brewer named Hucks.

7. EXISTENCE OF A FIRST CAUSE. This was the subject of much discussion among all classes educated as well as illiterate in the early years of the nineteenth century due, doubtless to the writings of philosophers such as Monboddo, Rousseau, Voltaire, Chalmers and others.

8. BLUCHERS. Heavily-made half-boots named after Field Marshal von Blücher.

9. MYSTERIOUS PICTURE . . . MRS. RADCLIFFE'S CASTLES. A commonplace in tales of mystery by this author and those who followed her was the picture, mirror, or sliding panel that concealed a secret passage.

10. "LADS OF THE VILLAGE." (See Scenes XVII, note.)

11. JACK-IN-THE-GREEN. (See Scenes XX.)

12. OMNIBUS PASSED ST. GILES'S CHURCH. The main road westwards was by way of High Holborn and through St. Giles's as New Oxford Street was not yet constructed; it was made in 1849.

13. DRURY LANE . . . THIRD ON THE RIGHT. Back along High Holborn, of course.

14. EDGE-ER ROAD. Slipshod, but no worse than Rillook for Royal Oak of the bus conductors of the nineties. (See also Scenes XVI, note 5.)

15. NO. 14 GREAT RUSSELL STREET. Mr. Dumps walked of course, but it should not have taken him more than five minutes instead of a quarter-of-an-hour.

16. RAINBOW-COLOURED LITTLE BOOKS. Books for presents or school-prizes (to be exhibited with pride) were always bound in bright colour with plenty of gilt—they still are.

17. RENOUNCE THE DEVIL AND ALL HIS WORKS. From the services in the Prayer Book for Baptism.

18. DOWN SNOW HILL AND UP HOLBORN DITTO. This was before the Holborn Viaduct spanned the valley.

19. LADY IN A LARGE TOQUE. The toque has varied from time to time. It was originally worn by men as well as women, a kind of cap or bonnet under which the hair was confined. About the time of *Sketches by Boz* the following description appeared in the *Ladies' Cabinet* (1835) under the heading Ball Dress: "Head-dress, a white satin toque profusely trimmed with white ostrich feathers." The modern toque is usually close-fitting either without a brim or with a small one closely turned up.

20. GREENGROCER WHO HAD BEEN HIRED. The custom was, and it continued till within living memory, for small tradesmen to go out in the evening as additional waiters for banquets and dinner-parties. At the Footmen's Swarry at Bath, in the *Pickwick Papers*, which was held in the back parlour of a greengrocer's shop, the greengrocer acted as waiter as being quite used to the job: "I'm very much obliged to you indeed, gentlemen, for your patronage, and also for your recommendations, gentlemen, whenever additional waiting is required."

21. DESDEMONA WITH THE PILLOW. See Othello, act v, sc. 3. It will be remembered that Desdemona was not entirely smothered and could answer Othello; she had to be stabbed to bring about her death.

22. LARGE BUSTLE . . . LIKE A FRENCH LITHOGRAPH. (See Tales III.) The lithograph was a "fashion-plate."

23. WE MET. From the ballad "We met, 'twas in a crowd," words and music by T. Haynes Bayly.

24. I SAW HER AT THE FANCY FAIR. This appears to be an inaccurate version of a song by T. H. Bayly who wrote a semi-humorous poem about a lady who used "make-up." Here is the opening verse:

"I saw her as I fancied, fair,
Yes, fairest of earth's creatures;
I saw the purest red and white
O'erspread her lovely features;
She fainted and I sprinkled her,
Her malady relieving;
I wash'd both rose and lily off.
Oh, seeing's not believing."

The question arises, was Bayly parodying a sentimental ballad the first line of which was that quoted by Dickens ?

25. UP FROM GRAVESEND. The provision of some kind of music was deemed a *sine quâ non* for the enjoyment of the trippers ; the " band " usually consisted of a violin and a piano or a harp.

26. GHOST IN DON JUAN. This apparition appears in Canto XVI of the poem, stanzas xix and xxi, etc.

" When suddenly he heard, or thought so, nigh,
A supernatural agent—or a mouse
Whose little nibbling rustle will embarrass
Most people as it plays along the arras.
It was no mouse—but lo ! a monk, arrayed
In cowl and beads, and dusky garb, appeared,
Now in the moonlight, and now lapsed in shade,
With steps that trod as heavy, yet unheard ;
His garments only a slight murmur made ;
He moved as shadowy as the Sisters weird,
But slowly ; and as he passed Juan by,
Glanced, without pausing, on him a bright eye."

[This was the ghost at Newstead Abbey, Byron's birthplace near Nottingham. It is also the Black Friar to whom Dickens alludes in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, chapter VIII, who " would not be driven away."]

Byron does not record that the ghost ever actually spoke, and Dickens's reference to the " sepulchral voice and rueful accent " probably reflects :

" And 'tis held as faith, to their bed of Death
He comes—but not to grieve," and
" When an heir is born he's heard to mourn."

(stanza xx).

27. HOW SHARPER THAN A SERPENT'S TOOTH, ETC. A Quotation from *King Lear*, act I, sc. 4.

28. VINEGAR, HARTSHORN AND COLD WATER. The recognised remedies for an attack of hysterics. Nearly always a dose of brandy and water was found to be more efficacious than vinegar, and this was the remedy to which Mrs. Varden resorted in *Barnaby Rudge*.

XII—The Drunkards' Death
(Specially written for the Second Series, 1837)

[There must have been a demand among a certain class of readers for this kind of Sketch or Dickens would not have tried his hand at it. He always exhibited a faculty, practically psychological, for analysing the inmost thoughts of the felon, the drunkard, and the remorseful, and, allowing for the fact that this was an early product of his imagination, it is among the most powerful of his writings. He was still more successful in The Stroller's tale of " the Dying Clown " in the *Pickwick Papers*. Dickens could if he thought fit, poke fun at this kind of story, and did so in *Nicholas Nickleby* when Miss Petowker (of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane) captivated and thrilled the Kenwigs's party by disarranging her " back hair " to die " raving mad " in her recital of " The Blood Drinker's Burial."

1. SUCH A MAN. An instance of the " haste and inexperience " mentioned by Dickens in his preface is some inconsistency here. The wife is described as an " elderly woman " and the daughter in whose arms she died would be about say 15 or 16. So the husband might be about 40. " Time went on " and the three children grew up ; " the boys had long ago run wild in the streets and left him." Then William " a young man of about two and twenty " returned. Putting down the lapse of years at say fifteen since the children knelt at their mother's bedside, this would make the drunkard about fifty-five. How was it he lasted so long ? The daughter, still described as " a girl " at the end of the story must have been at least a woman of thirty.

2. PIERCING TONES OF DESPERATION. This is probably borrowed from melodrama to " pile up the agony." One cannot imagine it happening in a death chamber in real life.

3. PORTION OF WHITEFRIARS. A district, close to Fleet Street and on the site of an ancient monastery (built in 1241 and disolved in 1558) was in the reign of King James I the resort of debtors, footpads, and other undesirables (see Scott's *The Fortunes of Nigel*) and remained much in that

condition till the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was gradually cleared, rebuilt and is now the centre of the newspaper world.

4. POLES WITH LINES. This method of drying and airing clothes is still practised in parts of Edinburgh and other Scottish towns.

5. LIKE THE MUSIC OF VILLAGE BELLS. Another reminiscence of melodrama in which the sound of bells " off " and the subdued murmuring tremolo of violins in the orchestra, accompanied the sentimental and much harassed hero to his birthplace, the scene of which was a quite small country village at sunset. Gilbert satirised it in " The Pirates of Penzance " :

" When the enterprising burglar's not a-burgling,
When the cut-throat isn't occupied in crime,
He loves to hear the little brook a-gurgling,
And listen to the merry village chime."

6. STONE STAIRS . . . WATERLOO BRIDGE. This was of course the first Waterloo Bridge, Rennie's masterpiece, built 1811-1817 and demolished in 1936-1946 when the present bridge was opened.

(*concluded*).

RECENT DICKENSIANA

" A Prospect of Gray's Inn." Francis Cowper. Stevens & Sons. 30*s*.

" London Homes of Dickens." Frank Green. 2nd Ed. W. & R. Chambers. 3*s*. 6*d*.

" Thackeray's Daughter." H. T. Fuller & V. Hammersley Euphorion Books, Dublin. 12*s*. 6*d*.

" H. C. Andersen og Charles Dickens." Elias Bredsdorff. Rosenkilde og Baggers Forlag, Copenhagen.

"*A Christmas Carol*." Illustrated from the Renown film " Scrooge." Ward Lock. 8*s*. 6*d*.

" Miss Fray and Miss Flite." W. J. Carlton. *Notes and Queries*, November 24th, 1951.

" Dickens and the *Daily News*." Gerald G. Grubb. " Dickens and Scott, an Unusual Borrowing." Lauriat Lane, Jr. 19*th Cent. Fiction*. December 1951.

" The *Christmas Carol* and the Economic Man." Edgar Johnson. *The American Scholar*, Winter, 1951-52.

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THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

Branch Reports of not more than 200 words are invited for inclusion on this page. Press cuttings are not acceptable.

BLACKPOOL

The past year has been one of quiet progress, in spite of illness among our most active members. A friendly informality characterises our meetings, which are well attended. Among the items on our syllabus, all contributed by our own members or those of neighbouring branches, were " Dining with Dickens," a delightful talk on a favourite topic by Miss Alys Myers, M.J.I.; " Making a Night of It," the annual dramatic evening presented by Madam Cleator, L.R.A.M., gifted elocutionist and true Dickensian. A cryptic announcement " We Hope to Surprise You " heralded a lecture by Mr. T. Haythornthwaite, F.R.G.S., entitled " Some American Notes "; recalling Transatlantic experiences in the course of a long and eventful life, and contrasting them with those of Dickens as recorded by him. An " Old Time Musical Programme " just before Christmas brought us a little unusual publicity, including a front-page photograph in one of the national Sunday papers. Last but not least, we made our customary Christmas gifts to poor and otherwise deserving folks whose lot in these days is hard indeed. And so, in our modest way, we try to " live in the Past, the Present, and the Future," as befits members of this Fellowship.—W.J.P.

WINNIPEG

Perhaps it is not too late to record that this Branch had an excellent session in 1950-51. Under the very capable presidency of Canon W. J. Merrick the programmes were maintained at a high standard and not the least interesting part of them was his own masterly analysis of *Edwin Drood.* At the October meeting Alderman Maude McCreery related her experiences in Europe. In November Professor Paul G. Hiebert, produced some unpublished poems of " Sarah Binks " to the great delight of his hearers. The December meeting was as usual given over to The *Christmas Carol,* this time by Rev. W. G. Martin. The Tiny Tim Fund over two years has been able to send one hundred dollars to the " Save the Children Fund." In January Rev. Dr. Spenser Elliott was responsible for a Shakespearian performance. The Birthday Dinner on February 9th was a cheery affair in the St. Regis Hotel; Professor A. S. R. Tweedie of the University of Manitoba, speaking to the Immortal Memory, related Dickens to problems in modern life. At the March meeting Mrs. E. D. Honeyman gave a review of Hesketh Pearson's book on Dickens. In April Rev. T. C. B. Boon spoke on *Sketches by Boz.* Canon Merrick is again President for the present session, at the first meeting of which in October, Mr. J. A. Jackson was the chief speaker and took as his theme " Inspector Dickens and the Riel Rebellion of 1885."—T.C.B.B.

OBITUARY

The Hull Branch records with profound regret the passing of Mr. Thomas L. Witty, Hon. Solicitor, and a Member for over

thirty years. For many years Mr. Witty was an enthusiastic and prominent member, being Hon. Secretary, and later Dramatic Producer of the Branch. Of late years increasing pressure of business and ill health prevented his participation in many of the activities of the Fellowship, but he retained his interest in everything concerning its welfare, and was present at the last Birthday Celebration Dinner. Mr. Witty will be greatly missed by a wide circle of members and friends.—M.C.

The recent death of Ross Barrington deprives the Dickensian Tabard Players of their founder and moving spirit. It was in 1925 that he began his Dickensian dramatic work in Southwark and in the subsequent twenty-seven years he produced, for his company of players, his own dramatic versions of the novels, the only ones which they used. Only a few days before his death he completed a version of *Edwin Drood*. His own forceful acting was a prominent feature of the productions, his Fagin, Quilp, and Heep, being among the most memorable of his performances.

—J.J.F.

We also regret to announce the death of:

Mrs. W. Cobbett Barker, of Rochester.
Dr. Harriet L. Hartley, of Philadelphia, U.S.A.
Miss Ada McMyn, of Manchester.
Mr. Gilbert Pass, Vice-President, Eastbourne.

The thanks of the Fellowship are due to the following Hon. Secretaries, new and retiring respectively: Mrs. Murray and Mr. H. Smith of Gloucester, Mrs. M. L. Young and Miss S. Harris of Brisbane, Miss A. Butler and Mr. F. Baines of Rochester.

A warm welcome to Great Britain is extended to Miss M. Winterbotham of Brisbane, and Mrs. Dickenson of Melbourne.

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LONDON MEETINGS

Saturday, March 8th, Ramble: "The Old Bailey," conducted by Mrs. J. BACON.

Wednesday, March 26th. Lecture: "Dining and Wining with Dickens." Mr. JAMES LAVER. Swedenborg Hall, 7 p.m.

Thursday, April 17th. "Annual General Meeting" and a "Balloon Debate." Swedenborg Hall, 7 p.m.

Saturday, April 19th. Visit to "The Geffrye Museum," conducted by Miss F. E. DICKINSON.

Saturday, May 24th. Ramble: "City Gardens Uncommercially," conducted by Mrs. G. MAJOR. *Meet:* Steps of St. Pauls, 2.30 p.m.

Note: The numbers for the rambles in March and April are limited. Names to Hon. Secretary.

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